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NO!

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Is SALT worth supporting?

YES!

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International Justice & Pea
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Thomas Powers
LOOKING FOR MOLES

John Garvey
'TEAM PLAYER' ERA

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Correspondence

A liturgy of her own

Brooklyn, N.Y.

To the Editors: Anticipating a treat in reading Abigail McCarthy's report of the Women's Ordination Conference in Baltimore [Dec. 8, "Sanity and Sister Says"]. I was disappointed. I heard much more of "Sister Says" from Abigail than from what she quoted from the Conference.

Last summer I attended a week-long workshop on Feminist Theological Perspectives on Religion, Sexuality and Work sponsored by St. John's University in Douglaston, NY. I heard many of the same women who spoke in Baltimore (Sheila Collins, Sister Elizabeth Carroll, Elizabeth Fiorenza, and more). I was thrilled with the maturity, self-knowledge, intelligence, articulateness, scholarship and self-assurance of these women. The group attending was a great mixture of nuns, married women, young theology students, social workers, ordained women from the Presbyterian and Episcopal Churches.

But reading Abigail, I heard Sister Say: "Don't raise your voices," "Be polite to your elders," "Don't offend your guests, especially the press," "Stay in your place at Mass," "Don't show disrespect to Father," "Watch your language," and "above all, stay away from bad company like those uppity feminists who just want to use you. . . ." Shades of the convent school! The women at the St. John's workshop were far too independent, sure of themselves, committed to each other's peace, freedom and justice to be lured by some seductive "outsider."

I am close to Abigail's generation: 52, Catholic-educated, wife, mother, Christian. I was probably most radically awakened as a feminist by the Vatican statement on women and ordination two years ago. Never was I so painfully aware of how little my church thinks of me, having spent many, many years under the delusion that it considered me as much a child of God as my brothers. It is the Vatican that has made ordination a sexist issue, not women.

I'm surprised Abigail did not hear, or pay attention to the real issues at Baltimore. Couldn't she feel the injustice that has been done, the insult delivered, and the vital necessity for Christian women to demand recognition? Despite the sloppy jargon, the rudeness to the male press, couldn't she understand the discomfort of having to have a male priest offer the Eucharist? Even I, recently and rudely awakened by the Vatican, was one of the first to ask for a liturgy of our own last summer, and I did not have to be "politicized" by an activist who wanted to use me for her own ends. I knew in my gut that I was being untrue to my womanhood and to Christ to silently agree that only a male priest could celebrate Mass. So we had a liturgy of our own and we were free to be ourselves and praise a loving God. It was great. Even Sister liked it.

JOAN SEXTON

Reply

I am afraid Mrs. Sexton confuses my reporter's hat with my columnist's hat—understandable since the editors did not have an article-sized space to give to the conference. As a report I think she would find it markedly similar to that of other *female* journalists (to use her terminology) including, for example, the one for the *National Catholic Reporter*. The objection of the press was not to the lack of gentility—although I admit to a personal bias in favor of that, generally speaking—but to the lack of openness, honesty and the unwillingness of the speaker cited to express her ideas in terms the press could translate for the average reader—all of which made their task difficult. It was, parenthetically, a friendly press, too. There were, as I noted, other examples of this lack of openness.

For the record I have openly supported women's ordination and think that it will come in the next papacy (if not this one) both if we are to survive as a sacramental church and because women are called as well as men. As a serious feminist, however, it has been my hope that women assuming leadership would eschew the techniques of control devised by men, such as obscurantist jargon designed to exclude the uninitiated and pre-planned "spontaneous" demonstrations. I think my report gave ample testimony to the spirit of sisterhood present at Baltimore and to the quality of the women aspiring to ordination. As a veteran of lay movements and political wars I was unsurprised by the Vatican statement. Men in power are men in power and are easily threatened. But change will come.

ABIGAIL McCARTHY

Put that in your hype

Marvin, S.D.

To the Editors: I want to write and thank you for the article by John Garvey, "The Prematurely Saved" [Dec. 22]. This article articulates what I felt and did not know why, nor have the courage to say if I did, to those who praised these TV evangelists to me.

They have impressed me as Jesus the Madison Avenue Adman dispensing what Bonhoeffer called "cheap grace" with all the advertising world's skill at hype. Years ago I wrote this verse in my reaction to the plaster statuary in our churches:

The Iconoclast
Smash the plaster
Statue and
Release
The Saint from
His pink enameled
prison.

The slick TV evangelistic programs make me feel this way again.

(REV.) PAUL McHARNESS, O.S.B.

Commonweal welcomes letters on subjects treated in its pages. Letters of not more than 250 or 300 words naturally have a better chance of being published.

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BACK TO THE PEACE TABLE

THE EUPHORIA that followed Camp David has almost entirely disappeared. Special U.S. envoy Alfred L. Atherton Jr. recently spent 12 days negotiating with Israeli and Egyptian officials in an effort to revive the stalled peace talks and prepare the way for discussion at a ministerial level. His mission was a failure—an outcome the Israelis blamed on the Egyptians, of course, and the Egyptians on the Israelis. Nonetheless, Secretary of State Cyrus R. Vance subsequently told the House Foreign Affairs Committee that the next attempt to break the impasse on a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel would be "a meeting at the ministerial level at which we will try to grapple with the issue as a whole," thus apparently excluding for now the possibility of another summit meeting convened by Mr. Carter.

The heart of the problem is the linkage question. In particular, Egypt fears that the Israelis will never proceed toward autonomy on the West Bank unless the issue is linked to a peace treaty on the Sinai. The Israelis are afraid of making the peace with Egypt dependent on Jordanian participation and unknown and hostile forces on the West Bank. In an area marked by decades of hatred and suspicion, overcoming this head-on difference will not be easy. This is especially the case since there is some reason to suspect that President Sadat and Prime Minister Begin may both have had second thoughts since Camp David to toughen their stance. Has Arab opposition to his peace effort been even stronger than Mr. Sadat expected? Is that section of Israeli opinion that wants a greater Israel strongly influencing Mr. Begin? If the answer to these questions is in the affirmative, there is little chance that a peace treaty will be signed. But if the answers are negative, there is still good reason for hope. After all, the Egyptians and the Israelis are already in agreement on 95 percent of the disputed points; it should be possible to negotiate the remaining few issues that still divide them.

In the bargaining process, the United States will have to exercise care. There is no doubt that the Carter administration at one point thought the Israelis were being unduly intransigent, and it did not hesitate to say so. Unfortunately, such a U.S. stance leads the Arabs to escalate their demands, and this only makes the bargaining process all the harder. Similarly, Mr. Carter's offhand remark that another summit might be required automatically made progress at a lower level more difficult. The President is learning the hard way that casual remarks in diplomacy are dangerous. The U.S. must in any case work hard to regain its status as honest broker, uncommitted to either side.

Now a new effort at getting the two parties together will be made, and both Israel and Egypt say they welcome the U.S. initiative. But once again the Palestinians are likely to be the stumbling block. Arab leaders have made no secret of the fact that they expect West Bank autonomy to lead to a Palestinian state. Not just Menachem

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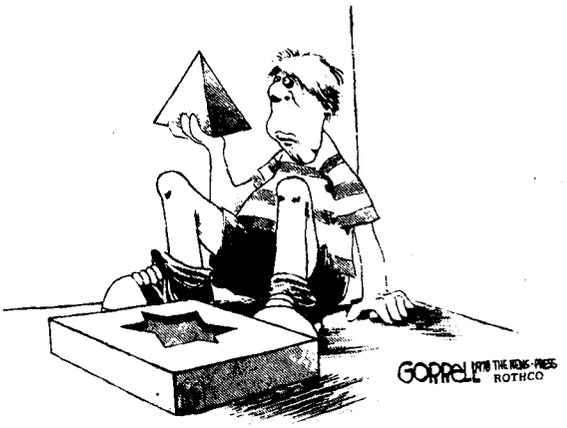
Begin but an overwhelming majority of the Israeli people are dead-set against this eventuality. In the end this fact could well make a peace treaty impossible. This is true despite recent moderate feelers extended by the PLO. One official of the organization, for instance, said in Paris that the guerrilla movement was prepared to cease hostile acts against Israel and give it de facto recognition if the way was opened to the creation of a Palestinian state on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip. Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat said in a recent interview that if a Palestinian state were formed he would agree to the stationing of United Nations troops inside the new nation and along its borders. But what use are such feelers when not only will Israel not negotiate with the PLO but the United States is prohibited by a 1975 agreement with Israel from even talking to the organization? As Andrew Young noted a few weeks ago, the PLO must be viewed realistically, like it or not, because it has captured the imagination of the Palestinian people and become a tremendous influence in all Arab countries.

In the end, though, it may be Iran that will supply the answer to the Egyptian-Israeli relationship, one way or the other. Senator Frank Church, new chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, said that in view of Saudi Arabia's concern over the turmoil in Iran, the United States should demand from the Saudis that they give full support to Egypt's signing of a peace treaty with Israel, Arab opposition or no. "Demand" is a little strong, but there may be some possibility along these lines. The problem is that the implications of Iran are not yet clear. Islam is on the march, there and elsewhere, and in the face of this Egypt might hesitate to back a peace with Israel. And on her part Iran might make Israel less secure, less rather than more willing to make necessary concessions on her borders. Only one thing is sure: both Saudi Arabia and Israel are nervous about the happenings in Iran, and both want the continued strong support of the United States as a bulwark against spreading disorder in the region. The U.S. can hardly demand anything, but at the coming ministerial conference it can argue strongly that in the light of Iran, failure to conclude a treaty soon would be a disaster for all concerned. It is still not too late to recapture the spirit of Camp David.

THE BLACK PICTURE

As debate on the Carter budget intensifies, serious attention should be paid to the warnings coming from leaders of the black community. Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, for example, warned American blacks against accepting "the myth" that things are improving economically and socially for them. Breaking a self-imposed silence on such issues of more than ten years, Justice Marshall said, "Today we have reached the point where people say, 'You've come a long way.' But so have other people come a long way. Has the gap been getting smaller? No, it's getting bigger."

"Black America today verges on the brink of disaster," with worsening economic conditions for black Americans providing all the ingredients for widespread social unrest,



including possible riots, said the National Urban League's Vernon E. Jordan. Issuing his organization's annual report on economic and social conditions affecting the nation's blacks, Mr. Jordan said that the "possibility of a fresh recession hitting a black community that has not recovered from the last one," combined with a widening black-white employment and income gap is fraying the country's social fabric, and that "frayed social fabric cannot sustain the social and class pressures a new recession would bring."

It may be that both Justice Marshall and Mr. Jordan are guilty of a certain amount of overstatement. Black progress in the last decade has not been all that could be desired, but it is real enough, as testified to by a few random facts: the number of blacks among college students has reached 11 percent, close to the proportion of blacks in the school age population; prior to the mid-sixties, the majority of black families had incomes below the poverty level; today more than 70 percent of black families are above the poverty level. Other pointers to real progress could be cited. But indications that a crisis nonetheless does confront black America are contained in the Urban League's annual report:

- The difference between black and white families' median income is growing. In 1970, black families earned a median income of $9,799, compared with $15,974 for white families. In 1977, blacks earned $9,563, compared with $16,740 for white families.
- Black unemployment is at its highest level in history. Including those who have become discouraged and stopped their job search, the black unemployment rate is 23.1 percent, almost one out of four, and the black-white unemployment gap is widening, not lessening.
- Twenty-eight percent of the nation's black families live in poverty, compared with seven percent of the white families.
- The black middle class continues to grow. But contrary to popular belief, "increasing proportions of black families are not making it economically today. . . . The numbers of poor persons in the black community are at their highest level."

All these statistics are profoundly discouraging, but none more so than the unemployment rate for black youth. This has consistently been running at 40 percent, and some experts insist it is as high as 60 percent. This means that in America's ghettos we are developing a vast black underclass which will

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never be integrated into normal American life unless speedy action is taken. As former NAACP labor director Herbert Hill said in a recent issue of the *Nation*, "What is urgently required is the development of long-term policies designed specifically for ghetto youth, not contingent upon full employment in the economy at large. The complex and accumulated problems of black ghetto youth cannot be solved by anti-bias measures or by an expanding economy. A new comprehensive federal strategy directed specifically at nonwhite youth living in ghetto areas is essential."

We could not agree more. Predictions of potential riots in the black community may be exaggerated but there is no denying the fact that half an entire generation of black youths will never take their rightful place in American life unless something drastic is done. Unemployment in the black ghettos is truly a timebomb threatening our national well-being. Necessary as the fight against inflation is, surely it should not be carried out at the expense of the black poor.

TEST-TUBE ETHICS

At present the federal government is not funding scientific efforts to fertilize human eggs in the laboratory and implant them in a mother's womb. Should that moratorium be lifted? Should Institutional Review Boards, which now must pass on all human research at institutions receiving HEW funds, be told that such research poses no inherent ethical problems?

The federal advisory panel established to answer such questions and make recommendations to HEW Secretary Califano has not yet made up its mind. Some members approve of in vitro fertilization when there is no intention of transferring the fertilized egg back to the mother's body, the procedure being conducted, instead, for purposes of studying the early phases of human development. Others approve of in vitro fertilization *only* when transfer is contemplated. A further question is whether federal funding is inappropriate in this area simply because the research is (a) of low priority medically and (b)

Elsewhere in this issue, Thomas J. Gumbleton and J. Bryan Hehir debate the value of SALT II. We invite letters responding to the issues they raise.

repugnant and objectionable to a considerable number of citizens. The members appear firmly at one only on the sensible recommendation that HEW should support animal research in this area.

As for human in vitro fertilization and reimplantation, if the panel could agree to recommend no federal funding, that would be a solid first step. They should, however, go further. Institutional Review Boards should be informed that human reproduction through these methods must await further animal experimentation as well as further reports on the "test-tube" children already born. In vitro fertilization for scientific study should either be prohibited or limited to the first few days of embryonic existence.

Such a conclusion would mean saying "no" to two interested groups. Saying "no" to the first of these groups, the research scientists, might even be salutary. Saying "no" to the women unable to bear their own children, and looking desperately for hope in these new techniques, may be more painful. Yet the more that is learned about the work of Drs. Steptoe and Edwards in England, the less likely does it seem that "test-tube babies" are a realistic answer to the needs of these women. And public health efforts to reduce gonorrhea-induced sterility among women might well be a more sensible investment for the future.

Meanwhile the culture remains as "gee whiz" about scientific "triumphs" as ever. Reviewing a TV documentary on the first "test-tube baby," a *New York Times* writer endorsed Dr. Steptoe's moral viewpoint, though not without a certain grammatical entanglement: "Making it possible for childless couples to have children that are theirs genetically," he wrote, "is as close to an unobjectionable activity as it is impossible to imagine." To which we might add, this is as unhelpful a moral argument as we have never heard.

Of several minds: *John Garvey*

THE SIMPLE & THE SANE

THE ERA OF THE 'TEAM PLAYER'

I WORK in an archive devoted to local history. Anyone can be tempted to nostalgia, looking at old newspapers and advertisements for vanished theaters and hotels and restaurants. There is something entrancing about high school yearbooks with dreamy looking girls in lace and serious looking boys with their hair parted down the middle, lined up in rows on pages decorated at the edges and full of quotes from Shakespeare; then you notice that all of the black students are on one page, and there aren't many of them, and the older city directories have a *c* for "colored" after the names of black people, and the obituaries are top-heavy with infants and young children. The nostalgia is qualified by a realization that the common yearning for simpler values ignores a lot of the era in which we think they were to be found.

But there are other things to be learned from the perspective an archive offers. One of the most interesting things about being in a middle-sized city is the city directory; if you have a collection of city directories which goes back over the years, you can see where people lived, what they did, and how the town has changed.

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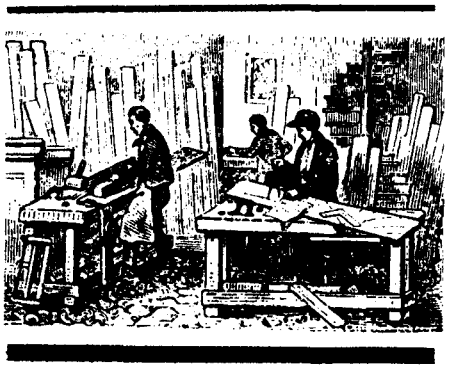
In the Springfield, Illinois city directory for 1855-56 I find the following occupations, chosen at random: shoemaker, painter, drayman, carpenter, cabinetmaker, tinsmith, lawyer, shinglemaker, pastor, carriagemaker, harnessmaker, bookkeeper, undertaker, clerk, teacher, gardener, physician.

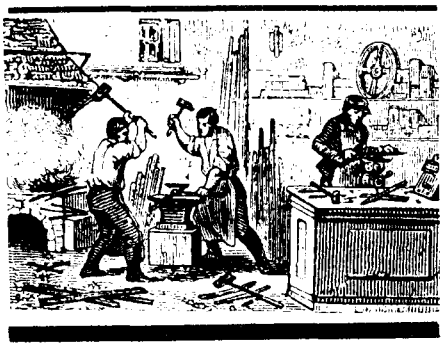
There are still people who do things like this (eliminating, of course, the trades related to the horse). But in the 1978 Springfield city directory there are a larger number of occupations like the following, also chosen at random: investment management consultant, counselor, tax examiner, employee benefits supervisor, financial analyst, urban planner, environmental coordinator, personnel assistant, program specialist, public information, insurance examiner, administrator of social services.

Once I asked someone what he did for a living, and he answered, "Middle management." That's what turned me to the old city directories: I wanted to see when this began to happen. This sort of language, and the reality it drags along with it, came into its own after World War II. I saw it up close once: I worked in the public relations department of a state-funded university, and jargon came by our desks by the barrelful. Part of my job was rewriting the prose of academics to make them seem literate. This university had a program called, believe it or not, "Human Development Counseling." In the proposal for this program I found this line: "The process of human development, according to studies by Carkhoff and Berenson (1966), can be both constructive and destructive." I wrote in the margin, "Let's make sure this knowledge doesn't get into the wrong hands," and decided I should think about quitting. Among other things, the program was designed to produce people whose job would be the control of a special language, one which justifies the use of one-way mirrors and questions which can be asked only of people at the mercy of institutions and courts. There was talk in the same document of "the helping professions" and no doubt it was sincere. But it was a naive sincerity, and part of something much larger which is in fact less than benign, something which involves a vague and pervasive clouding of the relationships between people.



What is obvious about the occupations in the older city directories is that they were clearly about something: they were genuinely productive. People did things which other people needed to have done for them. The newer occupations are more difficult to describe. They seem mainly to be about getting paper from one place to another.

Is this the reason behind the popularity of television shows like *The Waltons* and *Little House on the Prairie?* People believe that something has been taken from them, a way of living and working which is not only "simpler" in the condescending sense (i.e., without complication), but more direct. It is not at all a bad thing to yearn for an economy (the word's roots mean "the care of a house") in which needs are met directly, at a scale which anyone can deal with; this is not an unreasonable hope. Many societies have been built around it. Our nostalgia for what we imagine to be a better way of life, now past, is partly a yearning for a future which we believe is being kept from us; if we had any hope that it was really attainable, we would not need to have our hopes fed by a false view of the past. We do need those hopes—hoping for a sane life seems to be part of whatever being human is all about—and we need the sense that they are not unreasonable. It is too bad that our yearnings come to us now sandwiched in between commercials, a form which suggests that our hopes can be realized if we buy the products of the sponsors, and at the same time underscores the fact that what we are watching is only an entertainment, an unrealizable fantasy.



Yet the need for an alternative to the direction our culture and economy have taken is pressing. There is an odd convergence of opinion on at least that one point. Solzhenitsyn and Greenpeace and conservative economists and anti-nuclear groups and any number of other people (excluding all of those who have power over us) agree that we are approaching *some* critical pass, that something will give soon. The only people who don't seem so concerned are people with a stake in the system, which is not necessarily the best of all possible worlds, they try to tell us, but the only possible one.

Doesn't it sound paranoid to talk about "the system" that way? I know; the '60s are gone. Etc. But as the hard guys say, let's look at the big picture. The world is in fact running out of fossil fuels, a fact which determines much more than anyone in power is happy to acknowledge. We are faced with a competition between totalitarian systems and our own system which, when the rhetoric is cleared away, depends upon the creation of false needs and the expansion of markets. We have the remaining despotisms as client states, except—as in the case of some oil countries—where the despots have the upper hand. None of the people who are allegedly in authority are interested in much more than maintaining or improving their position in this power-grid. Our economies are dependent on a dying possibility of cheap energy, which will likely be exploited until the last drop is gone. What do our leaders tell us? Fog: We will look for new energy sources. We will maintain a firm defense. We do not need to change the way we live, if only everyone will tighten his belt. The Shah was our friend. So is China now, despite Tibet, despite the fact that in Taiwan,

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with all its faults, you can be a Buddhist, or Catholic, or Taoist, and you can't, really, in China; but in China they will buy Coke, and that makes them OK. If Solzhenitsyn says that the West lacks a sense of itself, lacks a will, it is because he is a foreigner who lives in Vermont and hasn't visited the rest of the country. Teng—now he *does* understand us.

I'm afraid he does. The other day I saw one of Carter's white mice defending the new budget. The poor were better off then ever, he said. Of course increased defense spending was correct, he said. He had reasons for everything. He was a team player, like the publicists for Mobil Oil, the AMA, and the tobacco industry. You can bet that he said what he was asked to say, and if asked by his superiors he would have said the opposite thing. He would probably believe anything he was told to say, since the desire to produce people who can think and work independently isn't really the point anymore. Now we produce people who rise within systems. If they were honestly masters of any particular skills they would be threats; but as parts of something, they are dependent on the whole, which can maul them if necessary. The fact that you seldom meet brave bureaucrats doesn't have anything to do with their genes, but with a system which runs things now; they are cowards before it, and they need the rewards and the esteem which the system promises team players. It was one of the favorite Nixon-era designations, "team player," and the same slimy creature was there in Kennedy's pocket; it is there with Carter, and will no doubt be there as part of his successor's entourage. The West lacks will now because nothing in our culture or our educational system encourages the development of anything like a thought.

Which brings us back to the old city directories. Where people were producing real things for people who really needed them, something unclouded went on between them. It isn't at all honest to say "the world is more complicated now," as if that were an explanation. It is, certainly. The complication serves some people, and they aren't the poor, or our children. A system can feed on itself, like the gnostic symbol oroboros, the snake which swallows its tail. We are asked to find the current state of affairs more or less necessary. The average conservative says that the necessity is unfortunate; the average liberal says that it is, unfortunately, necessary. Maybe that is a dime's worth of difference.

JOHN GARVEY

Of several minds: *Thomas Powers*

LOOKING FOR MOLES

A SOVIET SPY IN THE CIA?

A MOLE is a small burrowing animal, hard to find and hard to kill. But a mole, as we've had occasion to learn in the past year, is also something else—counter-intelligence jargon for an enemy agent who has worked his way into the heart of an intelligence service. Outsiders tend to make fun of the business of intelligence, dismissing its practitioners as gumshoes, Boy Scouts and paranoiacs. But moles are no joke. If there is a mole in the CIA it is a serious matter.

This is not the sort of thing which ordinarily makes its way into public print, but in the last few months there has been a good deal of high-level discussion—perhaps gossip would be a better word—on the subject of moles in Washington. Richard Helms and Henry Kissinger, neither of them frivolous men, have both been quoted as wondering if recent espionage cases indicate there is a mole in the CIA. There is just enough fact in the public domain to lend weight to their suspicions. Clearly, something is going on. The question is what?

James Jesus Angleton, who ran counter-intelligence for the CIA until he was fired in December, 1974, has said there is no such thing as a dead file in the business of catching spies. As often as not, he found, the secret of man's true allegiance was to be found in the past, and certain roots of the CIA mole stretch all the way back to the case of Walter Krivitsky, a Russian defector of the 1930s. The story properly begins, however, in late 1961, when a major in the KGB, Anatoli Golitsin, defected to the CIA in Helsinki. During his long debriefing Golitsin made a number of startling disclosures—of spies in several NATO intelligence services, for example—but none more startling than his conviction that the KGB had an agent, a mole, planted inside the CIA's clandestine arm, then called the Directorate for Plans (and now the Directorate for Operations). Golitsin did not know the mole's name, but he offered three clues—a physical description, the date of a meeting in London, and the substance of several of the mole's reports. The investigation which followed Golitsin's story is still a subject of debate within the CIA.

Golitsin's name might never have emerged if he had not been involved in another CIA dispute over the bona fides of a later KGB defector named Yuri Nosenko, who told the CIA early in 1964 that he, personally, had handled the case of Lee Harvey Oswald in Moscow, and that the KGB had no connection whatever with him. Coming less than two months after the assassination of John P. Kennedy, Nosenko's neat story inevitably aroused the CIA's suspicions. These were never resolved, despite three years of interrogation while Nosenko was incarcerated in a padded basement cell. Nosenko's story was importantly corroborated by an FBI-run Soviet agent in New York, but contradicted by Golitsin. Eventually the argument over Nosenko, described at length in Edward Jay Epstein's book *Legend*, was simply closed by administrative fiat, but not before it had thoroughly muddied the waters. Since the stories of Nosenko and of Golitsin collided, they could not both be telling the truth.

Not long after the publication of Epstein's book last spring, surfacing Golitsin's name for the first time, Washington

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conversation began to bubble with talk of spies and moles. For one thing, Epstein had described a Soviet agent run by the FBI in New York, a man suspected by some CIA people to be a double-agent really working for the Russians. Then, in April, a high-ranking Soviet official at the UN defected, and in short order was denying that he was the FBI agent, code-named "Fedora." For another, it was thought that the CIA never found the mole described by Golitsin. Since it now appeared that it was Golitsin, not Nosenko, who had been telling the truth, it followed that there *had* been a mole, and that he must still be at work.

Two other cases soon fueled the suspicions:

First, a young CIA officer named William Kampiles was arrested, tried and convicted of selling an operational manual for the spy satellite known as the KH-11 to a Soviet intelligence officer in Athens in February and March of last year. CIA people darkly speculated who had assigned the 23-year-old Kampiles to the Agency's Operations Center, and wondered if he had been "burned"—that is, exposed—by the Soviets to protect someone higher up.

Second, a retired CIA analyst named John Arthur Paisley disappeared in late September, and was found dead on October 1, with scuba-diving weights around his middle, and a 9 mm. bullet wound behind his left ear. Paisley's death was officially ruled a suicide, but there were a lot of loose ends. He had been working as a consultant on highly-classified Soviet studies for the CIA, he had been a contributor to the satellite manual sold to the Russians by Kampiles, the boat from which he disappeared was outfitted with a highly sophisticated radio set called a "burst transceiver," and he had been a good friend and frequent visitor of Yuri Nosenko.

These are only the bare bones of the typically convoluted and ambiguous facts which have been used to support public suggestions the CIA has been penetrated by a Soviet mole. It's not hard to weave them into a case, and a number of writers have made tentative efforts to do so. There are two other factors, however, which strongly suggest that talk of a mole is only the visible portion of a clandestine bureaucratic battle going on in Washington between two factions of the intelligence community.

One of the basic rules of counter-intelligence is that once you start looking for a mole in the right place, you find him *right away*. When Guy Burgess and Donald MacLean defected from Britain 25 years ago, suspicion fell on Kim Philby *right away*. The same thing happened after Golitsin gave the CIA his three clues about a CIA mole back in 1962. Angleton triangulated—that is, he figured out who had been in London on the date in question, had access to the information in the mole's reports, and fit the mole's physical description—and he came up with a name *right away*.

That, however, was only the beginning of the argument. The fact that a certain man seemed to fit the bill did not necessarily prove he had been a spy. Indeed, he vigorously denied it, many other DDP officers took his side, and Angleton and the Office of Security investigators never came up with damning evidence of the sort which might settle the matter in court—no unexplained sums of money, no attempt to evade tails in public places, no unusual requests for information outside his need to know. But in the business of intelligence, suspicion is tantamount to conviction. So the mole—if he was in fact a mole—was fired in 1963. The Agency helped him to find another job, and he still lives and works in Washington, and indeed is something of a man about town, according to those who know him.

This explains why no mole turned up in the wake of recent speculation, but it does not explain the rumors themselves, which are something more than the work of idle gossips. The first point to be made is that the only people who know anything about spies, counter-spies and moles, are people professionally involved in counter-intelligence. The stories related by Helms, Kissinger and other Washington figures all come from counter-intelligence experts who work for the FBI, the CIA, or the other counter-intelligence organizations in Washington, with heavy odds on their genesis in either of the first two.

Counter-intelligence people are ordinarily the most laconic of men. They have been hard at work for the last 30 years, and we have heard next to nothing of what they're up to. The reason they have chosen to break their silence now is that some of them—in particular, the old guard which began to leave the CIA in 1973—are convinced the United States has recklessly exposed itself to penetration in the last few years. They are not trying to find a mole already in place; they are trying to make sure there won't be one.

One of Angleton's favorite subjects is "the threat," by which he refers to the highly sophisticated intelligence services of the Soviet bloc. At one time or another the Soviets and their allies have penetrated just about every Western intelligence service. For differing periods, their agents even ran the counter-intelligence staffs of the British and West German services. This is the sort of thing which keeps intelligence officials awake at night. Helms once told Ben Bradlee of the *Washington Post* that was what he had worried about as director of the CIA—not Nixon, or Vietnam, or Watergate. But Angleton's reputation in the CIA was decidedly mixed; a lot of people thought he was crazy, and one of them was William Colby, who fired Angleton and reorganized the practice of counter-intelligence inside the Agency. A couple of years later the Deputy Director of Central Intelligence under George Bush told some old friends, "We have no counter-intelligence now."

The old guard's approach is a crude one, but it will probably work. Nothing captures a President's attention like a news story, especially a news story suggesting a spy is about to explode inside his administration. At the very least Carter will ask Stansfield Turner if there's anything in this, and Turner will ask his chief of counter-intelligence, and the chief of counter-intelligence will ask his staff, and the staff will answer that it needs time, money, extra men and sympathy to find out, which is precisely what the old guard is after. But they won't find the mole; if there ever was one, he's long gone.

THOMAS POWERS

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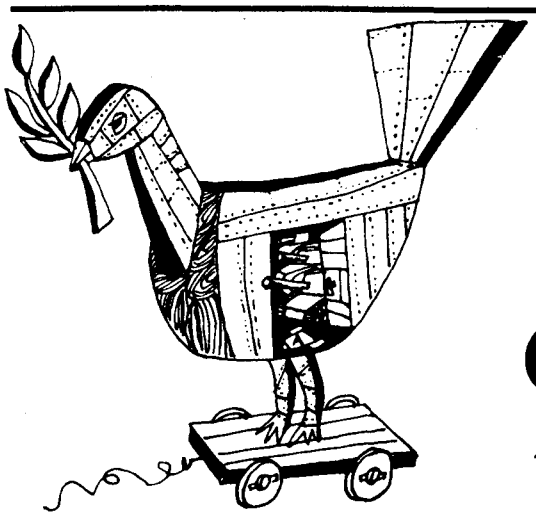

IS SALT WORTH SUPPORTING? NO!

Chaplains blessing the bombers

THOMAS J. GUMBLETON

WHEN I WAS invited to a briefing session for religious leaders at the State Department on October 18, 1978, I went readily, because I had implicitly assumed I would support the signing of the SALT II Treaty. I was pleased to have an opportunity to learn more about the proposed treaty and to join with other religious leaders in the effort to build a base of support for SALT II in the churches and religious communities throughout the United States.

At the end of the morning session, after the facts had been carefully laid out about the incredibly large arsenals that the Soviets and the U.S. would have under SALT II, one of the participants asked a question. "Do you mean that you expect us as religious leaders to support the kind of arsenal you are describing? That we should offer religious legitimacy for weapons outlined in your presentation?"

The government representative who had just been speaking, indicated his awareness that support for such weapons might be troubling to a religious leader. But his response was that the Arms Control Agency and the State Department could not make moral evaluations. Their responsibility was to guarantee the "security" of the United States by making sure that even with a SALT II agreement, our arsenal would not be inferior to any nation's.

The impact of that response for me was immediate and challenging. The more I thought about it, the clearer the situation became. The government expert indicated that he and his colleagues would not deal with the kind of concern raised by the questioner. In fact, he was saying that that was a moral problem, a religious question—not a political one—and religious leaders had to be concerned with such questions. He understood that.

But who really was asking that kind of question? We had been brought together to be briefed and we were already devising a strategy to form a Religious Committee of Support for SALT II. We were going to help "sell" SALT II. The very religious leaders who should have been raising the challenging questions about the rightness of our arms policy were simply being "drafted" into an army of support for the treaty. Those in government were not going to ask such questions. And it seemed that those in positions of religious and moral leadership were not going to ask them either.

But such questions must be raised. In my own reflection on the role of a religious leader and my responsibility to help people to face the moral implications of our government's decisions, I began to think again about that most fateful day in the history of the world: August 6, 1945. Hiroshima. One bomb exploded over that city and incinerated 80,000 to 100,000 people in 9 seconds—men, women, children.

I remembered Pope Paul VI in his Peace Day Statement of 1976, describing that bombing of Hiroshima as "a butchery of untold magnitude."

I began to ponder the fact that SALT II would legitimate the destructive power of 615,000 Hiroshima bombs, the present American arsenal.

I began to wonder how I as a religious leader could offer support for an agreement that would sanction that kind of destructive power in the hands of any government. I was especially troubled when I recalled that President Carter, within the last year in speaking before the United Nations, ruled out the use of nuclear weapons by the United States only against nations that do not themselves have such weapons. That statement left no doubt that we *do* intend to use them. And what is more, we intend to use them first.

On June 30, 1975, Defense Secretary James Schlesinger publicly stated: "Under no circumstances could we disavow the first use of nuclear weapons. . . . If one accepts the no first use doctrine, one is accepting a self-denying ordinance that weakens deterrence." That statement put the United States clearly on public record as being ready and willing to be the first nation to use nuclear weapons in a confrontation with another nation. This policy has not been modified.

I remembered the pastoral letter of the American Bishops "To Live in Christ Jesus." This letter clearly states the moral

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position that Catholics are to be guided by regarding not only the use of weapons of indiscriminate destruction, but also concerning even the possession of such weapons:

> The right of legitimate defense is not a moral justification for unleashing every form of destruction. For example, acts of war deliberately directed against innocent non-combatants are gravely wrong, and no one may participate in such an act. . . .
>
> At the same time, no nation, our own included, may demand blind obedience. No member of the armed forces, above all no Christians who bear arms as 'agents of security and freedom' can rightfully carry out orders or policies requiring direct force against non-combatants. . . .
>
> With respect to nuclear weapons, at least those with massive destructive capability, the first imperative is to prevent their use. As possessors of a vast nuclear arsenal, we must also be aware that not only is it wrong to attack civilian populations but it is also wrong to threaten to attack them as part of a strategy of deterrence. . . .

I WAS AMONG the bishops who overwhelmingly voted approval of that statement. Am I now ready to repudiate that stance? Am I now ready instead to seek throughout the religious community support of a policy of our government that so recently has been clearly judged immoral?

The argument has been raised that at least SALT II puts a "cap" on the permissible number of such weapons. Yet as I thought about that, it seemed that supporting such an agreement would be like supporting a "cap" on the number of torture chambers permitted to governments. I can't accept that anyone who firmly believes that torture is immoral would be ready to support such a position. Torture is wrong, and we could never give our blessing to the maintenance of even one such facility.

"But can't you support SALT II as the first step in the right direction? Here we are, deeply inplicated in an immoral situation. We cannot extricate ourselves with one decisive action. It will take time, and we must do it one step at a time.. SALT II is the first step in a journey of a thousand miles."

If only it were a first step. It is not.

Consider this report in the *New York Times* as recently as December 13, 1978:

> George M. Seignious II, the Carter Administration's new director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, told reporters today that even if Washington and Moscow succeeded in working out a new strategic arms accord soon, the United States would still have to press ahead with modernizing its nuclear arsenal.
>
> While noting that he "wholeheartedly" supported the proposed arms agreement, he said that Moscow would be able under the accord to make improvements to its nuclear forces that would "doubtlessly propel" the Carter Administration into some form of military response.

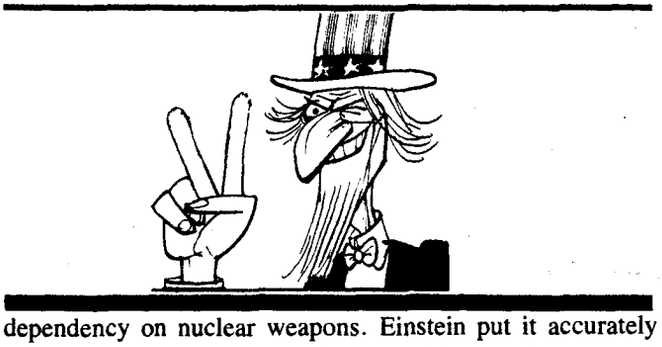
Business as usual under SALT II. The arms race goes on. This is really the failure of SALT II. It is not the beginning of the reversal of the arms race. It is not the first step. The simple reason is that the arms race is no longer a matter of numbers. When our arsenal can already destroy every major Soviet city 36 times over, it is at least irrelevant, if not ridiculous and perhaps even deceptive to talk about a "cap" on numbers as though this begins the process of reversing the arms race.

At this point in the arms race it is a race in technology and sophistication. It is a race to increase the destructive capacity of the weapons we already possess. It is a race to increase the accuracy of these weapons. As noted in the *New York Times* (December 24, 1978), "In the view of many analysts, new arms agreements do not really limit arms competition, they only push it down different avenues."

SALT II will be no different in this regard from any past agreement. The Soviets, even with SALT II, will continue to plan five new land-based intercontinental ballistic missiles, a new strategic submarine and long-range bomber. And the same day that Secretary Vance went to Geneva to conclude the SALT II talks Zbigniew Brzezinski told reporters that the United States would soon have to embark on a multibillion dollar program for deploying mobile intercontinental missiles.

Clearly SALT II is not a first step out of an evil situation.

ANOTHER CLEAR reason why SALT II is not the first step in reversing the arms race is the kind of "selling job" that is being done for it. Instead of emphasizing that the arms race has brought us to the most dangerous point of insecurity for all nations that the world has ever known, our political leaders are still trying to convince us that we can have security and peace through nuclear arms. The arguments made for the treaty strongly emphasize that we are not lessening in any way our



dependency on nuclear weapons. Einstein put it accurately when he said, "The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything but our modes of thinking, and thus we drift toward unparalleled catastrophe." A genuine first step in reversing the arms race would require some change in our thinking. Without that, a mere "cap" on numbers and even some slight limit on technology will be meaningless. We are still hostages with the nuclear gun pointed at our head.

It is very late in the history of the arms race. Very serious people indicate that nuclear war before the year 2000 is not just a possibility, it is a probability. Religious leaders, I think, have a major share of the responsibility for this situation. Before 1976 what pope or bishop referred to the bombing of Hiroshima as "a butchery of untold magnitude?" Until 1976—while the arms race had been going on for almost 30

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years—where did we find clear moral guidance from Catholic bishops in the United States, or very many other religious leaders, similar to the statement in "To Live in Christ Jesus" quoted above? It has been pointed out in a National Council of Churches pamphlet that Karl Barth, who was a leader in the German churches' resistance to Hitler, once declared the most vital issue facing Christianity has been the inability of the churches to take a definite stand against nuclear weapons. He compared it to the churches' inability to take a stand against Hitler. By our failure in moral leadership we have acquiesced in that "drift toward unparalleled catastrophe" deplored by Einstein.

The call for us to support SALT II is "a moment of grace" when we must begin to give strong leadership and clear moral guidance. We must indicate to the President and to our people that we cannot in good conscience support SALT II

There are some who will ask how can you align yourself with the opponents of SALT II who do not want any limitation on strategic arms whatsoever? The answer is simply that we are not in any way aligned with these opponents of SALT II. We do not agree with their understanding as to what will bring genuine security to our nation. Furthermore, I do not see any reason to engage in a debate with them over SALT II. We could win such a debate, but we would not have made any real progress toward reversing the arms race. I am convinced that a much better answer is simply to end formal negotiations and rely on unilateral demonstrations of arms restraint. Not only would this be in accord with our present moral teaching, but it would also be the most expedient thing to do—in the opinion of many specialists in and out of government.

IF RELIGIOUS leaders and religious communities can be persuaded not to support SALT II, what can they offer instead in the effort to bring about genuine disarmament? I would suggest the following as an outline of a carefully conceived effort to reverse the arms race.

First, the religious community should pledge itself to undertake a massive effort of education and conscience formation. We have a responsibility to begin to develop in ourselves and the whole community "a whole new attitude toward war," as Vatican Council II has called for. And we must really share the conviction of that same Council that "the arms race is an utterly treacherous trap . . . it is much to be feared that if this race persists, it will eventually spawn all the lethal ruin whose path it is now making ready." We must also share with others the moral judgment of the Vatican statement to the U.S. that "the arms race in itself is an act of aggression against the poor."

This is only the briefest sampling of the clear statements giving moral guidance on the arms race. Besides sharing these teachings we must pledge ourselves to seek out in prayer and faith what God has revealed to us, especially in Jesus, about the use of violence. Pope Paul in 1976, even appealed to us to consider as an example for our own time "what can be done by a weak man, Gandhi—armed only with the principle of non-violence." In 1978 Pope Paul urged us "to say 'no' to violence, and 'yes' to peace." We could prepare the way for the reversal of the arms race if we took very seriously our responsibility to teach and form consciences in the light of this ever more urgent teaching about non-violence.

"A much better answer is simply to end formal negotiations and rely on unilateral demonstrations of arms restraint."

The second step the religious community can take is to promote a national effort to build a climate for conversion from an arms industry to exclusively peace production. The churches could join in a community effort to prepare for such conversion of our industrial capacity by educating our people to understand the interrelationship between the arms race and unemployment, and many other social problems in the United States. And very concretely we could actively support the "Defense Economic Adjustment Act," a Senate bill (S2279 in the 95th Congress) intended to move us from an arms-based economy to one based on peacetime civilian-oriented priorities.

Thirdly, the religious community must take the lead in positively building peace. Vatican II stated: "Peace is not merely the absence of war. Nor can it be reduced solely to the maintenance of a balance of power between enemies. . . . Instead it is rightly and appropriately called 'an enterprise of justice' (Is. 32:7). Peace results from the harmony built into human society by its divine Founder, and actualized by men (and women) as they thirst after ever greater justice." (*Gaudium et Spes*, #78)

There is not the space here to go into detail on the program of justice we could develop, starting with changes in our own lifestyle and our use of this world's goods, but there surely is no lack of steps we could take in the struggle to assure that every person on earth begins to have enough to eat, decent shelter, adequate education and health care, and all the things necessary to meet basic human needs. Instead of forming a religious coalition of support for SALT II, we could form such a coalition to pass the world Peace Tax Fund Bill. This bill would provide an entirely new resource for peace programs. It could be the first step in assuring that our resources are used in the "enterprise of justice" rather than the continued escalation of the arms race.

In 1963 Pope John XXIII, a few weeks before his death, published his widely acclaimed letter, *Pacem in Terris*. In it he reminded us that "there is an immense task incumbent on all men (and women) of good will, namely, the task of restoring the relations of the human family in truth, in justice, in love and in freedom." (#163)

We must stop the arms race now and undertake this task with the greatest sense of urgency because the finish line in the arms race is not peace but holocaust.

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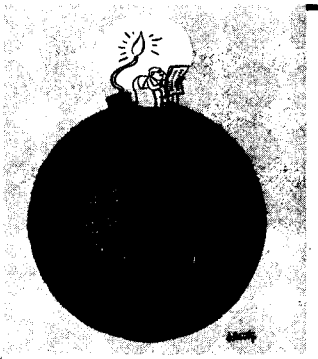

IS SALT WORTH SUPPORTING? YES!

Limited but substantial achievements

J. BRYAN HEHIR

PAX CHRISTI-USA and The Committee on the Present Danger are both opposing the ratification of SALT II. Pax Christi asserts that the treaty achieves too little; The Committee believes that the treaty is giving away too much. These two charges illustrate the vulnerability of the treaty. Two groups, with antithetical objectives, have formed a tactically identical position: defeat of SALT II.

Between these two positions it is possible to build a case of support for SALT II as a limited but necessary measure of arms control, deserving the support of all those, including Christians, who are committed to abolishing the nuclear threat to human life. The case has two dimensions: a general political-moral argument for SALT II; and a specific ecclesial discussion of the church and SALT II.

The *limits* of SALT II as an arms control measure are clear and should be clearly acknowledged. The procedural limits are rooted in the way these bilateral superpower negotiations are insulated from other actors in the international system. This isolation of the SALT process from other arms control or disarmament forums enhances the feeling among other states that the nuclear condominium, which could drastically impact them, is totally beyond their influence.

The substantive limits of SALT II are more significant. The actual reductions required by the treaty are marginal and the dynamic of development in key areas of weapons technology is not stringently constrained. Examples of substantive limits include the continuing development of weapons accuracy allowed by the treaty and the provision that each side will be allowed to produce and deploy one new missile during the life of the treaty. In terms of the numerical limits on missiles and warheads, the proposed ceilings are most often higher than present levels of development for either superpower. Critics of the treaty who charge that it achieves too little can legitimately indicate that it sanctions increased deployment of nuclear weapons for both sides. This litany of the limits of SALT II concentrates on the arguments of those who find it, in Bishop Gumbleton's words during a talk to Pax Christi's annual meeting in December, "a cruel hoax" rather than a step toward real disarmament. The full complexity of the SALT II debate can be understood, however, only when it is recognized that an entirely different range of criticisms against SALT II is based on the tendency, in Paul Nitze's words, "to subordinate security policies to hopes for advancing arms control rather than shaping arms control policies to our security needs."

IT IS CLEAR that SALT II is limited; it is even more clear that it is *necessary*. It is necessary as an integral part of a process which is presently the only politically viable method of reversing the arms race. The key question is: what will defeat of SALT II do to ameliorate its limits? Is there any evidence that its defeat will produce more substantial forms of disarmament? Those opposing SALT II should reasonably be expected to answer this question. Those supporting SALT II must demonstrate its merits; the case rests on a convergence of arguments.

First, quantitative controls: the controls proposed by SALT II in terms of numbers of nuclear weapons are limited but not inconsequential. To evaluate them fairly requires that SALT be viewed as a process, with a history and a future. Arms control agreements are not an end in themselves; they must be interpreted in terms of their impact on a wider political context. SALT II does set new lower limits on Strategic Nuclear Delivery Vehicles (SNDVs)—bombers and missiles—and it does require destruction of some SNDVs by the Soviet Union. The new limit of 2250 SNDVs, down from 2400, is higher than the present U.S. development, but deeper cuts proposed early in the Carter administration were rejected by the Soviets—understandably, given the nature of the proposal. The numbers are not great, but in political terms it must be stressed that this would amount to the first reduction of offensive weapons in the history of the nuclear arms race. The political-psychological significance of such a reduction should not be lightly discarded either as a deception or a give-away. From deterrence theory to debate about SALT II, psychology is woven through the fabric of the debate. The impact of negotiating the first reduction in three decades breaks the mind-set that the technological dynamic is beyond political control.

Second, the terms of SALT II are not only about quantitative controls. Unlike SALT I, which left the crucially important problem of multiple-independently targeted-reentry-vehicles (MIRVs) unresolved, SALT II devotes considerable attention to qualitative controls. The principal method of control is the

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establishment of a series of subceilings under the 2250 SNDVs which restrict development of various types of weapons systems. The limits on MIRVed weapons remain at 1320; but within this category the accurate and powerful land-based MIRVed missiles are limited to 820. The numerical limits are still high, but the central fact is the *principle* of qualitative control which can in turn yield further reductions within the SALT process.

Third, there stands the ominous threat of what can be expected if SALT II controls are not imposed. The arms race is generated by a quasi-independent technological dynamic. The primary significance of the SALT process, as part of a wider disarmament picture, is the chance to impose political control on the most powerful and dangerous dimension of the technological revolution in this century.

It is necessary to ask those who would withhold support of SALT II because it is too limited what alternative forms of control they propose. The arms race is principally in the hands of states; we are left, for the foreseeable future, with limits to which states will agree. SALT II falls in that category, and should be evaluated in light of the projections now made about the future devoid of SALT II controls.

If SALT II fails there will be no existing framework for superpower arms limitation. The SALT I Interim Agreement on offensive weapons has expired. The ceiling of 2400 SNDVs will no longer hold, and careful estimates predict 3000 SNDVs by the mid-1980s. Since no qualitative controls will exist, MIRV production will be unconstrained both in terms of the number of MIRVed missiles and the number of warheads per missile. Politically, the failure of SALT II will inevitably be seen in the short term as a signal that the impetus for superpower arms control is dormant or dead. No attempt will be made here to predict what will happen on the Soviet side after the centerpiece of its foreign policy has collapsed. On the U.S. side, past experience illustrates that all candidates for new weapons systems will become actual contenders: the B-1, Trident II, along with MX will be on the legislative assembly line. Each system has its supporters within Defense and/or Congress; SALT II holds out the possibility of systemic control of the development and procurement process. Without SALT II, each weapons system becomes the subject of a "great debate" similar to the B-1 decision.

Fourthly, one must ask whether there is any evidence that the defeat of SALT II will contribute anything to the wider process of disarmament. There is a broader agenda than SALT II, but it is highly doubtful that much will occur in other forums without a SALT agreement. The Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and the Mutual Balanced Force Reductions both involve the U.S. and USSR as central actors; it is difficult to believe they will survive the recriminations of a SALT II failure. The Nonproliferation Treaty and its subsequent regime of constraints on nonnuclear states has been predicated from its inception on paragraph VI which pledges the superpowers to a meaningful process of arms control. The restraints in horizontal proliferation are already fragile; they will be eroded by another superpower failure on vertical proliferation.

"There must be a way to continue the examination of the inadequacies of SALT II without being part of the coalition which seriously threatens to defeat it . . . in pursuit of escalation."

THE POLITICAL-MORAL case for SALT II is cast in terms of these arguments: the key moral value is control; the political method is negotiated limitation among states. One can argue both dimensions in reasonable fashion, but like all political and moral arguments it is an appeal to reason, not an infallible case. A new dimension enters the debate about the treaty when we examine whether Christians should support SALT II. Christians bring perspectives to the debate which do not fit nicely into conventional political discourse. It is possible, therefore, that a reasonable political-moral argument is at best interesting to them but not compelling. Some comments, therefore, are in order about Christians, the church and SALT II.

First, the controlling text in the discussion should be from *The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World:* "it happens rather frequently, and legitimately so, that with equal sincerity some of the faithful will disagree with others on a given matter." The text should forestall quick conclusions that a given position is *the* Catholic position on SALT. In the SALT debate, the technical data are sufficiently complex and moral analysis sufficiently controverted that there is room for more than one Christian insight.

Second, the debate within the Catholic community, given impetus by Pax Christi, is surely to be welcomed. At the same time it is necessary to keep the Catholic debate in focus. It is important for the participants, but it would be a delusion to think the public debate about SALT will be cast in terms of this exchange. Christians have an opportunity to participate in public policy debate, but they seldom can define the terms of the debate. That debate will be argued in terms of whether SALT II "gives away too much," not by whether "it achieves too little."

Third, even if we do not define the terms of the debate, we can determine our own position by criteria which are specific to our religious vision. The question, then, is whether the limited but substantial achievements of SALT II are compelling for the Christian conscience. Sorting out the answer requires further distinctions. In the first instance, it is clear that any SALT II agreement would rest upon the foundation of the strategic "balance of terror." But no arms control agreement is conceivable today which does not rest upon the deterrence relationship. In the second place, for guidance one can examine recent statements of the teaching church from *Peace on Earth* (1963) to Paul VI's *Address to the U.N. Special Session on Disarmament* (1978). These documents condemn the arms race unreservedly, yet woven through these state-

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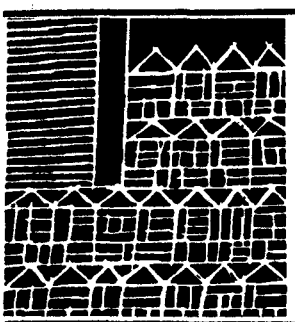
ments is a theme which recognizes the complexity of moving from condemnations to constructive political change. This theme speaks of reversing the arms race in terms of "progressive disarmament," with stockpiles being reduced "equally and simultaneously," in a controlled process which yields security at least equal to the present situation. The purpose of these citations is simply to say that there is an existent rationale for Catholic support of measures that seek a limited form of control of weapons systems.

Fourth, in determining what position Catholics should take in the face of SALT II, it is helpful to use the traditional categories of an ethic of intention and an ethic of consequences. The intent of opposing SALT II because it is too limited may range from a determination to offer a distinct form of Christian witness to a decision to provide a counterweight against groups opposing the treaty as a give-away. Intention is important in political ethics, but never solely decisive. The consequences must be coldly confronted: do we want to contribute to the failure of SALT II? Is it necessary to oppose SALT II in order to specify its limits? It seems there must be a way to continue the examination of the inadequacies of SALT II without being part of the coalition which seriously threatens to defeat it not in the name of disarmament, but in pursuit of escalation.

FINALLY, there is embedded in the Catholic debate a larger ecclesiological question about the church's role in society. There is a form of Christian witness against war which refuses to take the conventional categories of political and ethical discourse as the means of determining Christian obligation. This position defined as "sectarian" (in an analytical not a pejorative sense) finds a useful form of witness in rejecting standard categories as a means of stating the war and peace issues. The contrary position, "the church model," brings its own categories to the societal debate but consciously tries to relate to and to inform the wider debate with insights of faith and reason drawn from the Christian tradition.

The dimensions and dangers of the nuclear age have moved an increasing number of Christians to a sectarian position, ethically and ecclesiologically, as the only viable ground on which to stand. If one can judge by statements of the last fifteen years, the teaching church has not moved to that posture. The argument of this article is that SALT II does not provide grounds for the institutional church to become sectarian in an ecclesiological or ethical sense. It should be sufficiently pluralist to shelter sectarian options in the community without itself adopting a sectarian view.

The refusal to take a sectarian stance will leave the church "in the middle" of the SALT II debate. In the face of criticisms that the treaty is "too little" or "too much" the middle position asserts that SALT II is not enough, but it is imperative as a step in a process. As usual the middle position is neither as clear nor as dramatic as the edges of an argument can be. It sacrifices clarity to complexity and often must blend commitment with compromise. But the middle is often where one can mesh the possible and the necessary in the policy process. This position supports what is presently possible in pursuit of a larger vision of what must be made possible.



UNIONS & SUBSIDIZED HOUSING

A hidden success story

J. S. FUERST

MENTION "subsidized housing" these days, and even diehard liberals groan. After thirty years' experience, few in this country are convinced any longer that it is possible to provide decent, economically viable homes for low- and moderate-income families at affordable rents. Or so the conventional wisdom goes.

Yet there is a handful of subsidized rental projects that are proving the conventional wisdom wrong. Twenty projects around the country, containing a total of some 4,000 units and subsidized under Section 236 of the federal housing law, are astonishingly successful in almost every way, refuting nearly every criticism that can be leveled at subsidized projects.

What is even more astonishing, in some ways, is the fact that all twenty are operated and sponsored by trade and labor unions.

Admittedly, these projects are only a handful; though the examples of success in union-backed housing are plentiful in places like West Germany, Israel, and Scandinavia, most unions here have shied away from sponsoring housing developments.

But there are exceptions. Most notable are the joint union cooperative ventures of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, through the United Housing Foundation in New York. This organization, created in the 1920s, has so far built some 50,000 units of housing—mostly highrise buildings in and

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around New York City. The foundation's record generally has been a good one, despite the well-publicized problems of the 15,000-unit Coop City in the Bronx (whose failure can probably be laid to a combination of age, inflation, its too-large size and a certain amount of arteriosclerosis in the cooperative system).

Until recently, the United Housing Foundation was the only union-sponsored housing program in the country. But with the 1968 housing act—and its construction subsidy programs for low- and moderate-income housing for families and the elderly—many small unions' councils got into the act, too. Unions now operate about 100 subsidized housing projects around the country. Most of these projects were built for the elderly, under the most successful and "safe" of all federal housing subsidy programs; but of these 100, twenty projects were built specifically for low- and moderate-income families.

The projects, with a total of 4,000 units, vary in size from 100 to 350 units each. They are located in various kinds of communities all over the country—in larger cities like Chicago, Miami and Seattle, but mostly in smaller communities like Redding, Calif.; Traverse City, Mich.; Fairmont, W. Va.; and Monticello, N.Y. It may well be that one key to success is the small town setting. In any case, the variety of unions represented in the ownership of these projects is truly ecumenical: bartenders, food handlers, plumbers, steel workers, electrical workers and aerospace workers, as well as building trades councils and central labor councils.

The only thing these projects have in common is success—an almost unbelievable level of success, rivaling even the most prosperous and desirable market-rent, non-subsidized apartment developments. Vacancies average only 1 to 2 percent at the end of most recent months for all the projects. Rent collection is even better: arrearage varies from zero to 1 percent for all but two of the projects—and even those two report arrears averaging no more than 4 to 5 percent. Rents apparently are paid without pressure from management, and in one recent representative month, half the projects reported no back rent in arrears at all.

Even more significantly—particularly in light of the wide geographic spread—all but one of the projects are racially integrated, with an average racial breakdown of 70 percent white, 30 percent black and Spanish-American. Only one of the projects, the United Steel Workers' Germano-Millgate project in Chicago, is predominantly black; in that case, the project is in a large all-black transitional industrial area, dominated by steel mills. Most of the projects other than Germano-Millgate contain about 15 percent black families; many also house an equal number of Spanish-Americans. In none of the projects is racial discord considered to be a major problem; given the nation's record as a whole on that score, that is a remarkable achievement.

One of the biggest problems facing subsidized low-income housing generally in the United States has been the predominance of single-parent families on public assistance—often the tragic source of multiple, festering housing problems when concentrated together, isolated from other types of families. Yet in the union-sponsored projects, such families have not been allowed to dominate tenancy, as has happened in many public housing projects. Nevertheless, families receiving public assistance and single-parent families form a significant portion of the tenants in all union-sponsored projects—as they form a significant portion of the nation's low- and moderate-income population. Yet not one of the union project managers reported any difficulties because of these families, either within the project or with the surrounding communities.

An interesting detail about these union projects is the substantial number of three-bedroom units. Experience in subsidized housing reveals that projects with a lot of large, three-or-more-bedroom apartments often have a lot of problems, apparently because the large units attract families with many teen-aged children. In the union-operated projects, however, managers reported no serious problems in that respect, despite the number of larger apartments. The lack of such problems may be attributable to the fact that the union projects tend to consist of row houses, garden apartments, or quite small multi-unit buildings, reducing concentration and overcrowding; in addition, none of the projects is larger than 350 units, which is rather small by normal public and subsidized housing standards. Clearly, it is possible to have a substantial number of larger apartments accommodating many children, if the total size and layout of the project is manageable. However, in one case, the Chicago Germano-Millgate project mentioned earlier, managers faced problems related to too many children after large families—particularly families with teenagers—were brought in to fill the project's substantial number of three-bedroom units; the problems were remedied, to some extent, when the management gradually reduced the project's population and density, as new, and smaller, families were admitted.

Location of projects is a major concern of subsidized housing developers; it can make or break a project. A recent study of federally subsidized housing in Chicago suburbs indicated that successful developers of such projects were those who place their developments in vacant areas some distance away from tracts of single-family homes. Yet that has not necessarily been the case with the union-sponsored projects: most (though not all) were built in already well-built-up residential areas; in a few cases, the areas were somewhat deteriorated, but largely they were ordinary low- to moderate-income neighborhoods. The project managers also reported that housing prices in the neighborhoods surrounding their projects had not plummeted once the projects were up—housing prices, they said, followed the patterns of the cities as a whole, regardless of the projects' presence; so much for that fear on the part of many single-family homeowners.

How do the residents in the surrounding communities feel about the presence of subsidized housing? Generally, the impression given was that the communities had accepted the developments with little difficulty—since they are successfully run—but there was little encouragement of more development. The attitude of many residents, the project managers indicated, is that one project was acceptable—but for the

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Books for Brotherhood & Sisterhood

For Children and Young Adults

Each year a representative committee selects, from among the many books published between August 1977 and July 1978, those which seem best to portray relationships among people of different origins, races and religions, and depict their varied background. This selection from the complete list is presented by the publishers named below.

Barbara Jordan, *by James Haskins. Dial, 1977. $7.95*

This forceful biography reviews the political accomplishments of the hard-working representative from Texas, starting with her family background, education and successful "first" as a black woman on the Texan political scene. Underscored are her contributions to the Watergate investigation, her powers of oratory and her serious approach to work which often isolates her from colleagues. Included are black and white photographs, an index and an appendix of her legislative accomplishments. (11 and up)

Buffalo Woman, *by Dorothy M. Johnson. Dodd, Mead, 1977. $6.95*

This engrossing novel reconstructs the life and times of the Sioux Nation from the time of the birth of Whirlwind, the protagonist, to her death in 1877. Whirlwind's coming of age, marriage and other experiences are used as vehicles for examining the culture of the people in interesting detail and provide a contrasting backdrop to the Sioux's history of struggles with the U.S. government. (14 and up)

Celebrations, A New Anthology of Black American Poetry, *compiled by Arnold Adoff. Follett Publishing Company, 1977. $7.95*

240 poems which celebrate love, youth, ancestors, heroes, ordinary people, etc.—by 85 contemporary black poets. The editor, a veteran anthologist, has chosen the poems for their "unique vision" and "unique expression." (12 and up)

Child of the Owl, *by Laurence Yep. Harper & Row, 1977. $5.95*

Young Casey grows in knowledge, understanding and respect for her Chinese heritage after she moves in with her grandmother, Paw-Paw. A novel view of modern Chinese-Americans and the traditional ways of their people. (11 and up)

The Children of Master O'Rourke, An Irish Family Saga, *by John Chabot Smith. Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1977. $10.95*

Meeting the sons and daughters of a County Sligo country school teacher, following their quiet, ordinary lives proves an ideal way to know and understand contemporary Ireland. (14 and up)

Edward S. Curtis, *by Victor Boesen and Florence Curtis Graybill. Dodd, Mead, 1977. $6.95*

A debt of gratitude is owed to the great photographer who preserved for posterity the history of North American Indians. In this biography, illustrated with many of the famous portraits of Indians and photographs that are like paintings in their artistry, we learn of Curtis' early and lifelong devotion to photography and of the magnitude and dangers inherent in his undertaking. (12 and up)

Gentlehands, *by M. E. Kerr. Harper, 1978. $6.95*

Buddy Boyle, in love with beautiful and wealthy Skye Pennington, turns away from his not very cultured parents to his elegant and refined grandfather in order to feel secure with his girl. A shocking surprise stemming from the pursuit of a Nazi called "Gentlehands" brings an idyllic summer to a sad close. (12 and up)

The Girl Who Married a Ghost, and Other Tales from the North American Indian. *Collected, and with photographs by Edward S. Curtis. Edited by John Bierhorst. Four Winds Press, 1978. $9.95*

Nine tales from different Native American people: Navajo, Eskimo, Apache and others, have been carefully selected from

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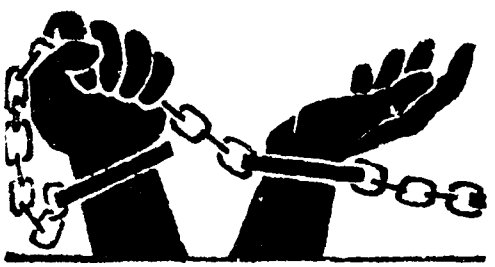
a 20-volume work originally compiled by Edward S. Curtis. In this well-designed and edited book, John Bierhorst extends the text of the stories and has included an annotated list of books, "By and About Edward S. Curtis." (10 and up)

Gypsies, *by Howard Greenfield. Crown, 1977. $6.95*

Non-conformists have always suffered at the hands of a more conservative society, and Gypsies are no exception. Here is a book which gives an objective account of the history, occupations, and customs of these nomadic people. (12 and up)

Handicapping America: Barriers to Disabled People, *by Frank Bowe. Harper & Row, 1978. $9.95*

One in every six Americans is disabled. This penetrating analysis describes (and provides many case studies) of types of disabilities, explains what is being done at present to remove barriers, and charts the enormous amount of work still needed to overcome the architectural, educational, legal, and psychological shackles that "keep America handicapped." (13-18)



Honey, I Love and other Love Poems, *by Eloise Greenfield. Pictures by Diane and Leo Dillon. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1978. $4.95*

A charming collection of poems exclaiming a child's sensitivity to the world around her and the joys she finds in the commonplace. (7 and up)

I Have a Sister: My Sister Is Deaf, *by Jeanne W. Peterson. Illustrated by Deborah Ray. Harper & Row, 1977. $4.95*

A loving little girl muses on the gifts of her young sister, proving that this child who is deprived of so much that is taken for granted by hearing individuals has a unique way of receiving and transmitting ideas and impressions, and can love and enjoy and communicate in her own wonderful manner. (6-9)

In Search of Identity, *by Anwar el-Sadat. Harper & Row, 1977. $12.95*

An important figure in the fate of the Middle East, Anwar el-Sadat tells his story from his birth in a small village, through his imprisonment for revolutionary activity, his relationship with Nasser and his rise to the presidency of Egypt. A religious and highly introspective person is revealed in this autobiography (14 and up)

Selected by . . .

Edith G. Selig, Supervisor
Lucia Engle, formerly Director, School Libraries, New York City Board of Education

Lilian Morrison, Coordinator of Young Adult Services, The New York Public Library

R. Bryan Roberts, Coordinator, Porgrams and Services Department, Queens Borough Public Library

Barbara Rollock, Coordinator of Children's Services, The New York Public Library

Lillian Shapiro, School Library Consultant

Ethna Sheehan, Free Lance Writer. Formerly a professor of literature for children and young people at St. John's University. Also Coordinator of Children's Services, Queens Borough Public Library.

Jovem Portugal: After the Revolution, *by Jason and Etagale Laure. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1977. $8.95*

After a chapter describing the revolution, which on April 25, 1974 overthrew a 50-year dictatorship, the authors present nine Portuguese teen-agers from various walks of life who lived through it all. Through interviews and photographs we learn of their present lives and their hopes for the future, and get a good picture of Portugal today. (12 and up)

Laughing Together: Giggles and Grins Around the Globe, *compiled by Barbara K. Walker. Four Winds Press, 1977. $7.95*

A collection of jokes, jingles, cartoons, riddles, tricks, teases, and counting out rhymes from all over the world. Countries represented range from Afghanistan to Zaire. The version in the original language often appears along with the English translation. The humor is universal and this is fun for all ages.

Menachem Begin: The Legend and the Man, *by Eitan Haber. Delacorte, 1978. $9.95*

This biography of a man whose leadership is an influential factor in the search for peace in the Middle East is also the story of the birth of Israel. We learn of Begin's early and continuing commitment to activism and, equally important, we trace the painful step-by-step search for a stable government out of the several divisive elements comprising the Israeli political picture. (14 and up)

Native American Testimony: An Anthology of Indian and White Relations, First Encounter to Dispossession. *Edited by Peter Nabokov. Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978. $8.95*

An impressive collection of narratives taken from primary sources in which American Indians express their feelings and give meaningful insights into their culture and history in America. (12 and up)

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For the complete Books for Brotherhood/Sisterhood list write to:
The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 43 W. 57th St., New York. N.Y. 10019

Peter Pitseolak's Escape from Death. *Drawings and story by Peter Pitseolak. Introduced and edited by Dorothy Eber. Delacorte, 1978. $7.95*

The simplicity of the color paintings and drawings done with pen, pencil or crayons, complements the brief text of how the author and his son miraculously survive while hunting walrus. The introduction reveals that Peter Pitseolak was an artist, photographer, hunter and historian for his Southwest Baffin Island Eskimo people. (8-10)

Refugee, *by Anne Rose. Dial Press, 1977. $6.95*

A young Belgian Jewish girl is whisked away from the Europe of pre-WWII to the safety of relatives in the U.S. Correspondence to and from stranded parents and friends forms a poignant, revealing novel. (12 and up)

Reunion, *by Fred Uhlman. Farrer, Straus and Giroux, 1977. $6.95*

This novella describes the unusual friendship between Hans Schwarz, a Jewish student, and his German classmate, young Count Konradin von Hohenfels, during their days as students in a Stuttgart *gymnasium* in the 1930s. The shadow of Hitler, whose picture Hohenfels' mother keeps on her dressing table, foretells the coming tragedy but does not prepare the reader for the stunning conclusion. (14 and up)

Runaway to Freedom: A Story of the Underground Railway, *by Barbara Smucker. Illustrated by Charles Lilly. Harper & Row, 1978. $6.95*

With the aid of courageous "conductors" Julilly and another young slave girl escape from the Deep South and reach Canada after experiencing horrifying dangers. It is emphasized that Canada was no paradise for ex-slaves in the 1850's, but it did provide a chance to earn a decent living in *freedom*. (11-14)

Sadako and the Thousand Paper Cranes. *by Eleanor Coerr. Paintings by Ronald Himler. G. P. Putnam's, 1977. $6.95*

When Sadako Sasaki was two years old, the atom bomb was dropped on Hiroshima and continued to affect the population for many years. Ten years later, Sadaka developed leukemia. This story, based on her letters to her classmates, tells of her courage while suffering the painful disease for two years before her death. Children have memorialized her bravery by placing paper cranes in her memory in Hiroshima Peace Park. (8-12)

Tales of the Elders, *by Carol Ann Bales. Follett, 1977. $6.95*

From Germany, Japan, Russia, Mexico, the Netherlands, and numerous other countries many immigrants sought a better life in America during the years 1900-1930, the Great Migration. Twelve of these "new" Americans tell of their coming to this country, the hardships they endured and their efforts to improve their lives by way of education and hard work. (11 and up)

Tiny! The Story of Nate Archibald, *by John Devaney. G. P. Putnam's, 1977. $5.29*

A biography of the NBA basketball star who grew up in a South Bronx housing project. He is only 6'1" tall, which is very unusual for a guard. He has never forgotten his old neighborhood and continues to work with young people there. (9-14)

Wagon Wheels, *by Barbara Brenner. Illustrated by Don Bolognese. Harper & Row, 1978. $4.95*

An I Can Read History based on the true story of a free, black man and his three young sons as they struggled across the wilderness from Kentucky to settle in Kansas. (7-9)

Wheelchair Champions, *by Harriet May Savitz. Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978. $7.95*

Handicapped super-athletes overcome tremendous obstacles to play unlikely sports: basketball, football, track and field events. Many interested organizations have helped to legislate their rights. (11-14)

Woman Against Slavery: The Story of Harriet Beecher Stowe, *by John Anthony Scott. Illustrated with photographs. Thomas Y. Crowell, 1978. $7.95*

A realistic biography, demonstrating how the New England religious atmosphere of Harriet's youth affected her entire life. It became a point of conscience to write about slavery, about which she had bitter knowledge during the years she and her husband lived in Cincinnati, across the Ohio River from the slave states. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* brought her fame and wealth and also provoked so much antipathy that she wrote a carefully researched *Key* . . . which deserves to be better known. (12 and up)

Women at Their Work, *by Betty Lou English. Dial, 1977. $6.95*

Twenty-one women, representing diverse occupations (firefighter, jockey, judge, chemist, chef, orchestra conductor . . .) talk about their jobs. Photos show their pride and fulfillment in total involvement. (10-14)

Benjamin Banneker: Genius of Early America, *by Lillie Patterson. Illustrated by David S. Brown. Abingdon, 1978. $5.95*

With an educational start from his English grandmother, this modest and religious black Marylander (born free in 1731) earned fame, respect, and liking as farmer, astronomer, inventor, city planner, and as the compiler of useful, popular almanacs. (9-12)

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moment, one was enough. The attitude is the same among the union members as well; they appear to have a positive attitude toward the projects that have been built, but are not particularly anxious to build more, without widespread community encouragement. There are exceptions, however. In San Antonio, Texas, the local AFL-CIO council built a project, Union Pines, that has been so successful they are anxious to build more—and so, it seems, is the community. Union Pines manager, Shannon Eichler, calls her project "probably the best in the nation, with many people unaware that it is a subsidized project."

In Redding, California, the five-county Central Labor Council attributed its seven-year record of success in managing its project to "strict adherence to the policies and procedures established for the operation of our projects, and by requiring strict tenant adherence to the lease." The council's only complaint is the difficulty they have had over the last five years in persuading HUD to authorize them to build 60 more units.

It is generally accepted that one of the first requirements for a successful subsidized housing development is a first-rate professional manager; yet here again, the union projects seem to flout the conventional wisdom, since many of them are run by non-professionals who nonetheless do an excellent job of management. One project in fact declares its success is due to its nonprofessional management—Union Park Apartments, in San Antonio, gives small Christmas gifts to each family, arranges trips to movies and libraries, provides Boys Club memberships, offers sewing and crafts lessons, and has installed basketball courts and playground equipment. Manager Derlys Sweet insists, "Not being hampered by a lot of trained personnel, we manage by heart, with a deep personal commitment to the project, and personal involvement in management is not to be taken lightly."

Subsidized housing in this country generally falls into two classes: those projects which are built by private developers in order to make a profit; and those projects built by non-profit organizations as a community service or philanthropic gesture. Interestingly, the for-profit projects have by and large been much more successful and long-lasting than the not-for-profit projects. Private developers participate in the federal subsidy programs in order to generate profits under a tax shelter, at no little cost to the public purse, however successful many of the projects might be.

Unfortunately, projects started by nonprofit organizations—fraternities, church groups, coops, and other private social welfare agencies—most often turn into flops, the housing projects quickly being foreclosed by HUD and virtually lost to the community. These organizations normally do not have the funds to support deficits or pay for upgrading; their commitment to housing projects often does not seem strong enough to carry them through; and in their zeal to be good fellows, they are too permissive both in tenant selection, tenant eviction and management.

That contrast makes the union-sponsored projects seem all the more remarkable. Without exception, the union projects were characterized by a determination on the part of the sponsoring union to make the development succeed. When problems develop, the sponsors seem willing to pitch in and do whatever is necessary, including committing more money, to solve the problems and upgrade the housing. Several project managers admitted that at the start their developments had suffered from poor initial management, due to inexperience. In each case the sponsoring union had identified the difficulties, brought in new management, and reacted to problems much more quickly than non-profit organizations generally react.

Providing housing for those in need of such assistance, according to Henry Schechter, Director of the AFL-CIO's Department of Urban Affaris, "is part of the traditional 'good and welfare' activities of unions." In fact, since few union members live in these subsidized projects, Schechter rightly calls them indicative of "the *pro bono publico* support for low-income housing which is a traditional policy of organized labor." At the same time, he points out, the "skills acquired in managing on-going union activities provide an expertise which helps make for successful housing sponsorship."

Whether these successes can be repeated on a larger scale, if more unions were to get involved in housing programs, remains to be seen; obviously, one cannot automatically predict success for any large-scale project, based on such limited experiments. But if the nations's labor unions ever do begin to sponsor housing on a grand scale comparable to that in Europe and elsewhere—based on the success of every single one of the twenty union projects thus far in existence—we could conceivably see a new era in successful subsidized housing.

Screen

PEACE WITH HONOR

COWBOYS AND VIET CONG

IN THE late 1960s and early 70s, one of the things said to prolong the Vietnam war was that we must not seek "peace at any price." We must have a peace that was "honorable." For the most part these claims were nothing but a mask of rectitude behind which politicians still harbored desperate, murderous dreams of military glory. Ironically, though, while such claims were specious then, they seem to me important to keep in mind now. *Now* is when we shouldn't be willing to make our peace—the one we still have to make with ourselves—at any price. Yet this is exactly what is done in Michael Cimino's sensational new film, *The Deer Hunter*. *The Deer Hunter* is a movie which is ready to indulge in every kind of self-delusion to ease the pain of our having lost 50,000 dead and hundreds of thousands more wounded in either mind or body. It's a movie which asks Americans to accept at last a dishonorable peace—a peace which simply returns, after all that we have been through, to the old lies of the past.

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The film begins with a very sensitive portrait of life among the Russian immigrants in a small steel-mill town in Pennsylvania. On the eve of the departure of three friends for Vietnam—Michael (Robert De Niro), Steven (John Savage) and Nick (Christoper Walken)—a wedding is to be held. Steven is to be married, after which Michael and Nick will go off on one last deer hunt before reporting for duty. However much Cimino may romanticize what happens later, in Vietnam, he does not do so in these early parts of the film. This is what makes both parts of the film moving. We come right away to think of the characters as real people with real problems.

Steven is marrying, we learn, because he has to, and the enmity between his bride and his mother is obviously going to be bitter. Nick's girl (Meryl Streep) has a father who's a hopeless drunk and beats her. One of the boys' own friends (John Cazale) is the kind of "asshole," as Michael himself puts it, who thinks it's impressive to brandish handguns all the time. With all their pain and inadequacies, though, these characters come across as having the capacity for love and great loyalty to one another. They are the kind of ordinary men and women who used to be referred to, without any sarcasm, as "decent Americans." During the war a lot of us who were opposed gave up thinking of such people as human. Cimino rectifies this. Especially in the scenes before and during the wedding, he restores to these Americans a humanity that many of the rest of us took from them a decade ago.

But even before the wedding reception is over, the film begins to puff itself up and become melodramatic in certain ways. When the bride and groom have a special toast whose object is to drain the glass without spilling any wine, Cimino does a close-up of one, unnoticed drop staining the bride's bodice. Then a bit later a Green Beret whom nobody knows comes in and drinks sullenly, silently, at the end of the bar. To find forebodings as heavy-handed as these—particularly the sinister stranger at the feast, the mysterious uninvited guest—you would have to go back to the worst moments in silent movies. Nonetheless, Cimino maintains this level of contrivance throughout the rest of the film. Later in Saigon there is a Frenchman Nick meets who is sitting in a sports car drinking champagne and says, when Nick refuses to have some himself, "The man 'oo 'azz lawst 'iz taste for *champagne*, he 'azz lost 'iz taste for life, monsieur." This is the kind of character that used to crop up in movies about French Indochina back in the days when no American had any idea where that was—it was just some Oriental never-never land—and all the actors pronounced Saigon "Say-gone."

It is having the gall to include such hokey material as this which makes *The Deer Hunter* effective. Cimino and his three collaborators on the script simply overwhelm our compunctions about Vietnam by not having any themselves. The result is that the major characters are ultimately sucked into the maelstrom of fantasy in this film along with minor ones like the uninvited guest at the wedding and the Frenchman. In the end, after having returned home a hero, Michael learns that Nick, who had been reported AWOL, is still in Saigon hiding out. In the final days of the war, as a horde of refugees throng the U.S. Embassy from its gates to its roof-top trying to get out, Michael is returned to Saigon via the embassy and under military escort to try to find his lost friend.

Swimming alone against the tide of humanity in these scenes, Michael makes a very heroic figure, and a very ludicrous one. Not since the French general staff used an entire generation as cannon fodder in the First War have young men been sacrificed to strategic error the way ours were in Vietnam. After our military proved that it cared nothing about the fate of hundreds of thousands of soldiers, are we now supposed to believe that it would have cared enough about the fate of two of them to help Michael go back and look for Nick? The whole idea is laughable.

Less laughable is the way the movie depicts the Vietnamese themselves. Early in the Vietnam sequences, Michael, Nick and Steven are all captured and forced by the Viet Cong to play Russian roulette. Their captors don't seem to want any information or confession from them but just some grisly sport. Each time one of them is made to pull the trigger, the V.C. bet feverishly on whether he will blow his brains out. Although an act of derring-do by Michael permits the three to kill their tormentors and escape, back in Saigon Nick discovers a gambling house where Russian roulette is played before an audience in just the same way by volunteers desperate for money. The tacit suggestion in this sequence of events is that the unspeakable decadence in Saigon has been inspired by the inherent evil of the Viet Cong. This suggestion that the Vietnamese Communists really were the villains of the war is followed up in other ways, too. The only time we see a North Vietnamese regular, for instance, he is mass-murdering defenseless villagers. The only time we see some A.R.V.N. troops they allow Steven, unconscious from his wounds, to be invalided back to Saigon on their over-crowded jeep.

What *The Deer Hunter* quickly turns into is a Western in which the Vietnamese Communists are the Indians, the vicious savages who have to be mowed down. At the point when Michael grabs a machine gun away from his V.C. torturers and begins killing them, the audience with which I saw the film cheered wildly. It was sickening. If we have to see the Viet Cong riddled with bullets in order to salve our own wounds, we're probably capable of opening them again in reality some place else in the world. Yes, the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese did commit atrocities during the war, and the fact that they are continuing to do so now, when we have stopped, makes it easy to pretend that their behavior was the only real problem all along. But *our* problem was *our* behavior. What we did in Vietnam made American soldiers into people capable of their own atrocities, and no movie which ignores that fact, as this one does, is really going to redeem either them or us.

If the Viet Cong are the Indians here, Michael is the cowboy, the strong, silent, lonely type who is shy with girls but dangerous in action. He's not the gruff, blustery cowboy that John Wayne turned into in the fifties, but more the Gary Cooper version. Behind the notion of the deer hunter in this

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movie is James Fenimore Cooper's deer slayer, who was himself a prototype of the cowboy. Before he ever goes to Vietnam, Michael is already a legendary figure back home because of his skill in stalking a deer and his self-discipline in always killing it with one shot. This quality he shows as a hunter is what gets him through Vietnam. He is, as one of his own friends says, "a control freak."

But the plain truth is that in the madness and disillusionment of Vietnam, the sort of qualities that Michael took there perished or were perverted just as readily as any other Americans had. The movie's own term, "freak," betrays this possibility which the movie itself doesn't own up to. "A control freak" is what Michael Herr is describing in his book *Dispatches* when he talks about the "lurps" on night patrol in Vietnam, the beautiful, clear-eyed boys from Ohio who took to killing as if they had been born to it. "A control freak" is what Robert De Niro played in *Taxi Driver*, where a returned Viet vet goes back into training, as if he were at boot camp again, in order to prepare for a spree of assassination and murder.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

RAHV & SHEED, UNACCOMMODATING CRITICS

Keeping us honest

SAUL MALOFF

WHEN PHILIP RAHV died in 1973 at the age of 65 he had long since come to seem a vestige of a remote historical era, some figure out of a *fin de siècle* located in the 1930s, a tumultuous time driven by urgencies, frenzies, wars, dislocations scarcely recognizable to a generation which came of age a decade, to say nothing of two or three decades, later.

Not that he had fallen silent, or disappeared, a fate not unknown to others of his generation and kind. A little tardily, he had joined the great migration of formerly "alienated" intellectuals into the professoriat (Brandeis, in his case), with what mixed feelings we can readily imagine; founded a new "little" magazine, the short-lived if not entirely ill-fated *Modern Occasions*, which reflected his political and literary biases and provided him with a lectern from which he could quarterly instruct the nation and world; issued pronouncements and contributed occasionally to other periodicals, notably *The New York Review;* kept watch over the vicissitudes of the student movement in the late '60s and early '70s with a shifting mixture of excitement and dismay; and worked away at the book on Dostoevsky that had been gathering in his mind for a lifetime and which, great pity, still had some long way to go at his death, though the fragments separately published during his lifetime and here* collected allow us to discern its tendency and shape and provide ample reason to suppose that the whole would have richly fulfilled the promise of its excellent parts. In short, his last years, though they were spent in a kind of exile, were hardly unfruitful, much less indolent.

But some vital spark was obviously missing; there was a sense of incongruity, a voice speaking in a void, no longer attuned to time, place, historical circumstances. By then, of course, he had parted company with *Partisan Review*, the divorce following an acrimonious separation marked by deep, then irreconcilable differences over fundamental nature, purpose and direction. For some years before that, in fact, *Partisan* had been in the process of becoming a journal qualitatively different from the one Rahv had co-founded in the '30s (with William Phillips and others) following his split with the Communist Party and the reconstitution of that onetime Party organ as its principal intellectual opposition and magnet for other disaffected writers and intellectuals when, in the course of the Moscow trials and purges, the nature of Stalinism was garishly illuminated for all who *would* see.

The break virtually defined the intellectual atmosphere of the period: the Party and the Stalinist anti-aesthetics of "proletarian literature" on one side of the barricades; *Partisan*, the ideologies of anti-Stalinism (Left, Right, Center) and the aesthetics of literary Modernism on the other. That was the high period of the journal, the late '30s and '40s, the achievement that secures its lasting place in American cultural history; and as its dominant editor and personality Rahv's own place: an achievement no less than that of altering the intellectual temper of the times, reordering the definition of culture, changing the terms of discourse and argument.

The wars won—Modernism having become standard fare in the Literature departments of every agricultural college and polytechnic institute; anti-Stalinism, now in the postwar period which ushered in the false consensus of "end of ideology," established as the ascendant ideology of philistine and intellectual alike and in virtually identical terms—Rahv must have felt rather like a general deserted by his legions, his banners appropriated by the onetime enemy, his causes discarded or forgotten or so drastically altered by the veering winds as to have become unrecognizable or at least unacceptable to himself, the last of the believers in unsullied first principles. *PR*, "his" journal, he must have felt, had been usurped, its own uncorrupted version of Marxism (as he saw it) abandoned or dishonored together with all

Essays on Politics and Literature 1932-1972, by Philip Rahv, edited by Arabel J. Porter and Andre J. Dvosin, with a Memoir by Mary McCarthy, Houghton Mifflin. $15. 366 pp.

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brands of socialism, its old radicalism transmuted into the basest metals of nativist conservatism or a cold-war "liberalism" which came to the same thing. Even McCarthyism seemed to many of the ossified old radicals a matter for deliberation if not outright support. Mind you, they might not approve of the man's manners or the cut of his clothes but still, yet, after all, on the other hand, all the same. . . . Opposition to Stalinism, once a principled position entirely consistent with a radical critique of capitalist society—indeed, it can be argued, a necessary condition of it—became in those newly assimilated quarters the sole ground of politics, an antipolitics, the form acquiescence took: sophistically antiradical in rhetoric, illiberal in practice, a predictable reflex.

While the accommodating intellectuals arranged peace with Cold War America on favorable terms—a late marriage of convenience though they protested it had really been love at first sight—Rahv remained fixed in his old attitudes. Not altogether inflexibly, of course: it should be remembered that he began his career in criticism while he was still in the CP, practicing what was then regarded as Marxist criticism in the offices of *New Masses* and the original *Partisan Review* when it was still an adjunct of the Party, fairly dutifully mouthing the old platitudes, though if you look closely and your ear registers the sub-language you will barely make out certain slight but significant differences, something like a champing at the bit and intimations of things to come. Rahv himself never saw fit to include these early pieces in any of his collections, needless to say, and it is doubtful that he would have permitted others to do so, even for reasons of historical interest; but they are of interest nevertheless, as markers of the distance he traveled while at the same time revealing intellectual origins and even some persistent strains, literary and political, in his later major work.

Getting out meant making the connections that would be his life's work—classic American literature, the great 19th-century Russians, Modernism; but it didn't mean abandoning all previous positions out of loathing for Stalinism. In his own eyes he remained a Marxist, for a time of the Trotskyist bent, then a lifelong maverick party-of-one—depending on the mood of the moment and the emotion of the occasion, a "democratic socialist" or small-letter "communist." A matter, one feels, of personal style and an intentionally provocative way of distinguishing himself drastically from old colleagues who submitted gladly or guiltily to the process of assimilation and nullification which he called the "embourgoisement of the intellectuals"—like them he might be a professor but all similarities ended there.

Yet even if it was little more than the name he gave to his sense of the systemic moral and social bankruptcy of capitalism and his longing for a decent and humane social order, his "Marxism" richly invested his criticism with a moral seriousness and sense of society and the world—of the interaction of literature and society—that were of an order altogether different from the quasi-official academic criticism of the time. Literature was a matter of life and death, far too serious a matter to leave to the professors and other exegetes in a bad time made hideous by those endless isometric exercises in a mandarin "formal" or "textual" criticism that made teaching schematic, diagrammatic, impoverishing; civilized discourse—or better still high conversation—all but impossible, indeed suspect; and rendered lifeless the poems and novels influenced by, at their worst deriving from, that critical theory and practice—coldly embalmed in a formal shapeliness enclosing nothing. In that sense Rahv's criticism was passionately anti-academic. It would be too much to claim that the powerful assault he launched against the New Criticism—the essays are collected in his major work, *Literature and the Sixth Sense*—demolished the academic dogmas of the '40s and '50s; but there can be no doubt they helped end the tyranny, and that in itself, by returning literature to the full life of the mind, comes to a distinguished career.

SAUL MALOFF, a novelist and critic, is a regular contributor to *Commonweal* and other magazines.

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And then the falling-off: not a diminution of powers so much as a sense of great questions either resolved or superseded, the battleground plowed under and Rahv left behind as the discussion moved off in other directions. He was a born polemicist, and his natural disputes lay moldering in back issues of defunct or remodeled periodicals. Wrath, the polemicist's fueling emotion, spent itself on ludicrous targets—the "porno-aesthetes" and "swingers," the hustling, faddish, cultish, standardless visigoths of the "new"—contemptible *reviewers* as opposed to *critics*. Mailer drove him mad, Terry Southern was the enemy of culture: so much had Rahv lost perspective. Look

Wilfrid Sheed

where he would, there were no new Dostoevskys, Tolstoys, Gogols, Kafkas, Hawthornes, Melvilles, Jameses anywhere to be found: so far had we fallen; the culture lay in ruins; he had warned us but we wouldn't listen.

For a brief time the "kids" of the Movement seemed to remind him of the old days and reenergized him; if you read and listened to them carelessly you could convince yourself, because the inner need to do so was overpowering, that you were hearing familiar echoes. He got out his closely annotated copy of Lenin's "What Is To Be Done?" and read them lectures from it—on theory and practice, on the strategy and tactics of revolution, on creating a "disciplined" "Vanguard" party, on the nature of the "class enemy," on armed insurrection and the opportune historical moment for it: Waltham, Mass. as the Finland Station; Brandeis as the Smolny Institute. But the kids let him down; they weren't serious; they understood and knew nothing, dwelt outside History, especially their own ancestral history; they were barbarians; Tom Hayden was their Lenin and Trotsky. It was very sad.

Never mind. Taken all in all Philip Rahv embodied the cultural and intellectual history of his generation, and represents the best of it.

As Wilfrid Sheed represents the best of his. Wilfrid Sheed? How can one possibly get from Rahv to Sheed? Well, the long way around, son.

Only it's not so long as, looking at the two of them standing there, you might suppose. Appearances (I believe it's been said) deceive; and Sheed is a master conjuror of appearances. On the face of it, where Rahv is ponderous (and that is his characteristic voice), Sheed is agile; where Rahv is classic, immersed in the large issues, solemn, Sheed is nothing if not contemporary, regarding the running experience of day-to-day squintingly, his leathery cragged features partially concealed behind the mask of a crooked, mirthless,unforgiving smile. Rahv wrote in Polemic, his native tongue, in a strong residual Russian accent (in fact his native land); Sheed has contrived out of his trans-national migrations a distinctive, perfectly pitched voice, neither quite English nor quite American, cannily combining elements of both and mixing them with a third into a distinctive freshness and buoyancy, an idiosyncratic signature. The language, or dialect, is spoken on a small, self-sufficient island with a population of one: call it Offshore—the language, not the island, which is uncharted and has no foreign policy to speak of. The constable is on duty at all times.

Sheed has been called "witty" so long and so steadily it must sometimes come to seem a term of subtle abuse to him, a veiled insult. Of course he is that, effortlessly, naturally, by a sort of spontaneous combustion: helplessly, on consequence of special chemistry. I mean to say it can't be faked, or got by hard sweaty labor (not that aspect of his writing, which we may call "style," without embarrassment): a writer's head works

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that way, or it doesn't, and there's an end of it, more's the pity. One can be witty and not a writer. Sheed is a witty writer; he is a writer and a wit; or, if I may strain the point, a writer whose singularity lies in his wit, his wittiness.

That's the sort of thing Sheed has to put up with, while gnashing his teeth. But don't be taken in by the affable manner. A strong, supple intelligence is in control around the clock: that constable, wary, on the lookout, unblinking. Few if any current writers on writers and writing can release as much flashing light in a thin (and in many a thick) volume as Sheed does in a paragraph. The present collection* contains the *New York Times Book Review* columns of that name, and they are as sparkling on second reading as on first and will be on third and fourth; and contains as well a scattering of reviews and essays on assorted subjects, literary, political, general-cultural, some of them surprising, as again and again we're made to see where the really interesting and lively subjects unsuspected lie.

Now and again I balk, or pause long, at this or that pronouncement, assessment or observation; in fact I balk rather frequently. But I say this in tribute: how often does one think a writer worth the bother? For one example of many: Writers should attend to their business, Sheed rather peevishly argues, ideologists to theirs, and frontiers never crossed—thus, to my mind, closing a bit too impatiently a complex, bloody question which of its nature will always be with us, and needs to be argued in season and out as the question alters in pressure and form. The instance here is a small one, as this question goes, but take it for what it is. Writing in 1971, Sheed laments the loss to journalism of Gloria Steinem when she commenced her career of "shilling for women's lib (a cause I generally favor) on TV and I thought, you used to work harder than this on your articles and do more for truth and justice besides." I think Sheed wrong in general and in particular, word and gesture, spirit and act. To begin with I would want to look very closely at those words "shilling" and "generally" and "truth and justice" and go on and gloss every other word in the passage; and to inquire whether the issue is well served by stacking "good writers" against "pontificating windbags . . . mounting the pulpit in any cause whatever"; but I also think he would not have written those lines, or not in that way, today.

The feast awaits you; but I can't bear to leave off without mentioning a wonderfully moving essay in "ancestor worship," a testament in homage to his parents, Frank and Maisie Ward Sheed, written when that noble woman was still alive. The control of feeling is superb—a miraculous balancing-act where a single wrong move would be fatal; but from the first breath to the last Sheed moves along that finest of wires with perfect—with insolent—ease, leavng not a dry eye in the house. Exactly the way a gentleman conducts himself on that island, and an incomparable example of how Offshore is spoken there. The man is a civilizing force whose appointed mission offshore and on is to keep us honest.

*_The Good Word and Other Words_, by Wilfrid Sheed, Dutton. $10.95, 300 pp.

Religious Book Week: CRITICS' CHOICES

Philip Murnion

DISPUTE about the meaning of John Paul II's many statements in Mexico reflect two features of recent books in religion: a keen desire to clarify what it means to be Christian or church in the world today and the relationship between our answers to these questions and both our own experience and the disciplines used to mediate revelation and experience. The defining demand on the Christian, according to Jon Sobrino (*Christology at the Crossroads*, Orbis, $12.95) is discipleship in building on earth the Kingdom of God, a kingdom of justice. Sobrino writes self-consciously from the experience of pervasive poverty and injustice in Latin America and uses the mediating categories of Marxist analysis and political economics.

Freedom, radical freedom for openness to the fullness of human existence, which is not translatable into social freedom, characterizes the Christian for Karl Rahner (*Foundations of Christian Belief*, Seabury, $19.50). Rahner writes from an experience of Western European secularization and philosophy is the mediating discipline.

Enabling people to live a new life in God, a life "mediated especially by faith and worship," is the primary task of the church, according to Avery Dulles (*The Resilient Church*, Doubleday, $7.95), and, we might infer, achieving this new life marks the Christian. Dulles writes from experience of working out a reasonable Catholic identity in an intentionally pluralist society and philosophy of religion appears to be the mediating discipline.

Entering into relationships of freedom and trust and love would appear to be the defining elements of being Christian for John Shea (*Stories of God*, Thomas More Press, $8.95). Shea writes from pastoral experience in Chicago and literature and psychology seem to be the mediating disciplines.

Each of these recent books is quite valuable, often insightful and challenging, and richly fruitful for our common search for identity and responsibility. Each, however, must be understood within the limitations of their respective grounding experiences and mediating disciplines. Another way of expressing the value and limitations of current theological projects is to relate them to the tortuous history of the theology of

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nature and grace that is the core of Jaroslav Pelikan's latest volume in his extremely valuable history of Christian theology, *The Growth of Medieval Theology (600-1300)* (University of Chicago Press, $17.50). To be fair, the various approaches are not, of course, mutually exclusive on the whole, but the difference in emphasis is important to each. Sobrino is quite forthright about the particularity of his ground and purpose, asserting that reservations about the limitations of any system's expressing the Kingdom are a nicety that the present condition of people in Latin America does not allow. The book is often startling and provocative, however much the unnecessarily fundamentalist imperative leads to an ultimately unpersuasive revisionist statement.

Rahner's latest work is vintage Rahner, compelling, if dense, and is surely part of what will be increased attempts to forge a new synthesis of Christian theology that provides a ground for purposeful Christian action in the world. Dulles writes with characteristic elegance, suggesting some of the fundamentals of authentic ecclesiology as complementary to his articulation of the *Models of the Church*.

John Shea's work on theology as story moves back and forth between a methodological inquiry and an illuminating example of the method which brings together our individual and collective stories with the story and stories of Jesus.

There are two other works I would like to bring to your attention. The first is *The Study of Liturgy*, edited by Cheslyn Jones, Geoffrey Wainwright, and Edward Yarnold, S.J. (Oxford University Press, $8.95). This is an eminently readable history, providing enough for the general reader while serving the scholar or teacher with bibliographical references and essays at various points. It is often tantalizing because it rarely takes on contemporary questions directly. When it does and one of the several authors breaks loose, it is delightfully provocative if in a somewhat conservative vein.

The other is the series, *The Classics of Western Spirituality*, being published by Paulist Press under the editorship of

Theology Workshops at ST. JOHN'S UNIVERSITY Summer 1979

ANNOUNCEMENT:—

The Theology Department of St. John's University, N.Y., announces three workshops for the summer of 1979, one in Youth Ministry, one in Moral Theology and one in Spirituality.

YOUTH MINISTRY—June 24-29, 1979

Lecturers:—Ms. Nancy Hennessy Cooney, Coordinator of Youth Programming, Office of Religious Education, Archdiocese of Milwaukee.
—Dr. John Nelson, Associate Professor of Religious Education, Fordham University.
—Ms. Marisa Guerin, Director of Youth Activities, Department of Education, United States Catholic Conference.
—Mr. Thomas Zanzig, Editorial Staff Member, St. Mary's College Press, Winona, MN; formerly Director of the ACEC Youth Program, Appleton, WI.
—Dr. Michael Warren, Associate Professor, Director of Catechetical Ministry Program, Department of Theology, St. John's University, N.Y.

Place: —Cathedral College of the Immaculate Conception, Douglaston, N.Y.

Cost: —$100 per person non-credit. $113 per Graduate credit (3 credit option).

CHRISTIAN SPIRITUALITIES, ROOTS IN BIBLICAL WISDOM—July 9-13, 1979

Lecturers:—Rev. Daniel Berrigan, S.J., poet, lecturer, author of many books, including his recently published **Uncommon Prayer** and **Beside The Sea of Glass.**
—Rev. Joseph Gibbons, C.P., assistant professor of theology, St. John's University, specialist in church history, spirituality and counseling, and translator of classics from the coptic and patristic traditions.
—Rev. James Reese, O.S.F.S., associate professor of New Testament at St. John's University, member of the editorial boards of **The Bible Today** and **Biblical Theology Bulletin,** and author of **Jesus, His Word and Work.**
—Dr. Walter Wifall, associate professor of Old Testament at St. John's University, member of the Catholic Biblical Association task force on sources of the Pentateuch and author of **Israel's Prophets: Envoys of the King.**

Place: —Bishop Molloy Retreat House, Jamaica, N.Y.

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George G. Higgins

THE *Church in a Secularized Society* (Volume five, *The Christian Centuries*). Roger Aubert, et al. Paulist Press. $19.95.

When Leo XIII opened the Vatican Archives to scholars of all faiths, he reminded them that "The first law of history is not to dare to utter falsehood; the second, not to fear to speak the truth." The distinguished contributors to this impressive collection of 23 scholarly essays covering the main lines of development of the Roman Catholic Church from Pius IX to the close of Vatican II have scrupulously heeded this injunction. As the general editor, Roger Aubert of Louvain notes in his Introduction, they have broken with the old habit of seeing the church as primarily a European institution and have given adequate, if not equal, attention to the English-speaking world (with an excellent chapter on the United States by John Tracy Ellis), the Third World, Latin America, Africa, and Asia. While they do not pretend to have written an all-inclusive university textbook, they hope nevertheless that "even specialists . . . will be glad to have an overall picture of the period." As a non-specialist, I can only say that this is church history at its best. Incidentally the chapter-by-chapter bibliographies and the 30-odd pages of photographs, cartoons, etc.—selected and annotated by Peter Ludlow—are invaluable.

God, Church, and Flag: Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the Catholic Church, 1950-1957. Donald F. Crosby, S.J. University of North Carolina Press. $16.95.

Father Crosby's major findings were summarized in a 12-page article, adapted from his book, in the July 21, 1978 issue of *Commonweal*. It will not be necessary, then, in this brief notice to go over the same ground, except to say that Crosby proves conclusively that Catholic support for Senator McCarthy was exaggerated during his lifetime (and is still being exaggerated, I might add) in certain liberal circles. *Commonweal*, by the way, covered itself with glory during the McCarthy era. It is good to have this fact confirmed and documented for the record in a scholarly work which can be recommended without qualification as the definitive study of "a most crucial chapter in the history of American religious life."

Frontiers of Theology in Latin Amerca. Rosino Gibellini, ed. Orbis. $9.95.

This is an invaluable collection of original essays on liberation theology by thirteen of its best known Latin American exponents, Protestant as well as Catholic—Gutierrez, Segundo, Galilea, Alves, et al. Like most collections of this type, it tends to be repetitive in spots, but not excessively so. More mportantly, some of its contributors (if an imperialistic North American may be bold enough to say so) tend to be a bit too sure of themselves and more than a bit disdainful of criticism coming from Europe or the United States. This prompts me to make an unsolicited suggestion to Orbis. Under the very imaginative direction of Philip Scharper, Orbis has done a great service to all of us by making available in English a whole library of books on Latin American liberation theology, the major outlines of which are conveniently summarized in the collection noted above. Presumably Orbis will continue to perform this service for the indefinite future. In any event, I hope it will. I also hope, however, that either Orbis or some other U.S. publishing firm will, from time to time, provide us with at least a sampling of books which are constructively critical of liberation theology. Liberation theology has everything to gain and nothing to lose by being subjected to honest criticism. For all I know, it may be getting such criticism in Latin America, but, if so, those of us who are non-specialists in the field of theology (e.g., the majority of *Commonweal* readers) seldom if ever hear about it. Anyhow, God bless Philip Scharper and his associates for supplying us on a regular basis with readable and inexpensive translations of the best that is being written by liberation theologians in Latin America and elsewhere.

Catholic Activism and the Industrial Worker. Neil Betten. University Presses of Florida. $10.

Neil Betten, associate professor of history at Florida State University, the son of activist labor parents, and a labor activist himself in the academic community, is of the Jewish faith. His interest in the relationship between Catholics and labor, he notes in his Preface, grew out of his admiration for Dorothy Day. He says that labor historians and economists have "virtually ignored post-World War I Catholic labor activities." His purpose in writing *Catholic Activism and the Industrial Worker* was to fill "at least part of the historical vacuum." He has succeeded reasonably well in doing so. That is to say, he fills part—but by no means all—of the historical vacuum. Nevertheless, while there are gaps in his survey, it fills a current need and ought to be made required reading for those who think that church-related social action started with Selma or for those who, whether wittingly or not, subscribe to the original Henry Ford's dictum that history is bunk. In this connection, I will never forget the blank stare I received a few years ago when I suggested to a young and very militant Catholic social activist that he might find it interesting and possibly instructive to dip into the writings of the late Monsignor John A. Ryan. Alas, he had never heard of Ryan and, double alas, he made it perfectly clear that he wasn't about to waste his time reading anything written by a man who died in the middle forties. Sic transit!

We Are One! American Jewry and Israel. Melvin I. Urofsky. Anchor Press/ Doubleday. $10.95.

In 1975 the National Conference of Catholic Bishops, in a statement on Catholic-Jewish relations, pointed out that "an overwhelming majority of Jews see themselves bound in one way or another to the land of Israel. Most Jews

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see this tie to the land as essential to their Jewishness. Whatever difficulties Christians may experience in sharing this view they should strive to understand this link between land and people which Jews have expressed in their writings and worship throughout two millennia as a longing for the homeland, holy Zion." Professor Urofsky's book will be extremely helpful to Christians in this regard. It is a fascinating and remarkably well-balanced summary of the relations between American Jewry and Israel, relations which are composed, Urofsky says, "not only of ties that bind, but of differences that sunder as well." Urofsky's book can be highly recommended not only on its own merits but as a timely antidote to an even more recent book by Alfred M. Lilienthal entitled *The Zionist Connection: What Price Peace?* Lilienthal relentlessly (I almost said obsessively or compulsively) tries to prove that Zionism, a monstrous conspiracy in his view, is the principal if not the sole cause of the Israeli-Arab conflict. Whatever his motive in writing the book, it will predictably be put to mischievous purposes. Let us hope that Urofsky's study will act as an effective counterforce.

Margaret Ellen Traxler

MARY, *Mother of Christ and Christians,* by Joseph-Marie Perrin, Jean Finley, Transl., Alba House, $3.50.

Mary—The Feminine Face of the Church, by Rosemary Radford Ruether, Westminster, $3.65.

Each of these honors Mary, Mother of Jesus. Rosemary Ruether's book, which originally appeared as biblical studies of Mary, updates a new look at Mary and gives a genuine feminine dimension to modern Marian devotion. Only a woman like Rosemary Ruether could project for feminists a real and credible Mary. (Except of course for Luke!)

Perrin's study is more traditional in a wholesome sense and we are reminded in his entire theme that each of us, like Mary, lives in faith.

Here are two good books announcing the renascence of devotion to Mary.

Womanpriest, by Alla Bozarth-Campbell, Paulist Press, $9.95.

One of the happiest events in *herstory* was the ordination of eleven women to the priesthood. In *Womanpriest,* Alla Bozarth-Campbell tells her *herstory* in a sensitive and appealing prose which is so well written that it could be called a prose-poem. Here is an amazing call, followed by an equally amazing woman who is also a *Womanpriest.*

Women and Priesthood, Carroll Stuhlmueller, ed., Liturgical Press, $9.50.

The editor gives the call to dialogue about *Women and the Priesthood* and is assisted by an impressive roster of scholars from the faculty of the Chicago Catholic Theological Union. In the Foreword, Carol Frances Jegen stresses the relationship between the ordination question and how the authors here relate the discussion to the ministry of pastoral situations. In other words, the real world is not forgotten in this book and it is in that real world where answers lie. The sub-heading to *Women and Priesthood* is *Future Directions.* While this book may not speak directly of the future, it is an admirable effort in a most affirming direction toward the future.

Sexism and Church Law, James Coriden, ed., Paulist Press, $7.95.

An outstanding collection of essays from a Canon Law Society symposium. Scholars look at church law and practice in a formal but simple way which will interest canonists, theologians and any person concerned with the virtue of justice. All essays are excellent, but particularly noteworthy are those by Katherine Meagher and Nadine Foley.

And Sarah Laughed, by John H. Otwell, Westminster, $7.95.

John Otwell uses 700 Scriptural passages from the Old Testament in which women are mentioned. In ten well-constructed chapters, Professor Otwell discusses the status of women in OT times and a wide range of related topics such as sexual attraction, subservience and female personifications. The author's general conclusions are that sex distinctions in the OT were pragmatic and not rigid. This of course is a male interpretation as are most Scriptural passages but this book is nevertheless credible and helpful to both scholars and casual readers as well.

Behind the Sex of God, by Carol Ochs, Beacon Press, $9.95.

The sub-title explains the theme of this book: "Toward a New Consciousness in Transcending Matriarchy and Patriarchy." Dr. Ochs's major achievement in this work shows how the dichotomy of matriarchy and patriarchy affects, indeed, twists, religious thought. The author brings philosophical inquiry to this rewarding and rich study of God, the Loved One who is neither male nor female.

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Arthur J. Moore

ONE OF THE advantages of the current "spiritual" revival is that it leads publishers to reissue "classics" in expensive editions. We seem to be in for a rash of this at the moment: Doubleday has a three-volume "Doubleday Devotional Classics," from John Bunyan to Douglas Steere; Paulist Press has "The Classics of Western Spirituality," Julian of Norwich to Nahman of Bratslav to William Law; there are reissues of everything from Thomas Merton to E. Stanley Jones. Not so overtly spiritual but a real pleasure to have back is Dorothy L. Sayers's *The Mind of the Maker* (Harper & Row, $4.95). Lord Peter Wimsey has almost overwhelmed the rest of this author's work. This is a 1941 examination of the Trinity, analogizing God to the artist at work, all delivered in Dorothy Sayers's no-nonsense, combination Oxbridge Don and English nannie manner, and it is a joy.

Not a reissue but a collection of essays, book reviews and letters, *The Jew As Pariah,* by Hannah Arendt (Grove Press, $12.50), is subtitled "Jewish Identity and Politics in the Modern Age." Since most of these writings date from the 1940s, except for polemical interchanges about *Eichmann in Jerusalem,* and have been collected by Ron H. Feldman, this might seem to be simply a work of piety but such is not the case. The two first sections on "The Pariah as Rebel" and "Zionism and the Jewish State" are interlocking; her criticisms of the Zionist movement are based upon her analysis of the history of the Jew in Europe. Obviously, the concrete situations have changed but much of the analysis is still as provocative as it ever was (if not more so). The section on the Eichmann controversy seems more dated.

Hannah Arendt was always careful to distinguish between European societies and the United States. What happens to Judaism and Protestantism and Catholicism in the United States is the theme of John Murray Cuddihy's *No Offense: Civil Religion and Protestant Taste* (Seabury Press, $12.95). Cuddihy, a sociologist, is dealing with civil religion (here inverted to "the religion of civility") and how it has shaped and molded the religious traditions. He uses as examples Reinhold Niebuhr, John Courtney Murray and Arthur Hertzberg. This is in many ways a maddening book, slipping from sociologyese to family reminiscences (which really belong in another book) to easy oversimplifications (a denial of the need for Jews to convert to Christianity is not just something Reinhold Neibuhr made up). But a book that you both enjoy and want to argue with most of the time is one definition of a good book.

Jonestown has made the whole subject of cults fashionable. What is and is not a cult depends on who does the defining, but until quite recently in any case, the Jehovah's Witnesses were a cult to most people. It is rare to get an interior view of such a group by someone who writes well and Barbara Grizzuti Harrison's *Visions of Glory, A History and a Memory of Jehovah's Witnesses* (Simon and Schuster, $12.95) is therefore fascinating. It has two drawbacks, and they are important ones. The attempt to combine a personal account and an objective history means that we really have two books here and they often fight each other. Too, Ms. Harrison has not only left the Witnesses—she can't stand them any longer and this makes it hard for her to convey their appeal to others. Still, it's an important subject and she makes us really feel it.

Finally, a little book which is not overtly about religion. *Doing Good, The Limits of Benevolence* (Pantheon, $2.95), by Willard Gaylin, Ira Glasser, Steven Marcus and David Rothman are four essays examining the presuppositions of social policy toward those in need by a psychiatrist, a professor of history, a civil libertarian and a literary historian. Anyone who wants to characterize some of the current debates on this subject as "liberal" and "conservative" should read this book and any church bureaucrat who thinks these questions only apply to the state should probably be forced to read it.

CAREER OPPORTUNITY

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Jay P. Dolan

AMERICAN religious history is enjoying a mini-renaissance. Revival of interest in American social history has certainly influenced this trend. One book that combines the best features of both social and religious history is Philip Greven's *The Protestant Temperament: Patterns of Child Rearing, Religious Experience and the Self in Early America* (Alfred A. Knopf, $15.) Greven explores the religious experiences of early American Protestants in order to discover the inner world "of feelings, desires, anxieties and hopes that were expressed in the life experi-

CRITICS

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ences of particular individuals." An innovative study, it is very psychological in its interpretation and heavily grounded in the thesis that the formative experiences of childhood shaped the religious temperament of adults.

Religion in America: 1950 to the Present (Harper & Row, $15.) by Jackson W. Carroll, Douglas W. Johnson and Martin E. Marty sets out to describe what happened to religion in America since 1950. Using a variety of statistics (the book has 22 tables, 4 graphs, and 13 maps), it examines the trends in religion during the past 25 years and offers an explanation for these changes. Martin Marty has written two very insightful essays on the patterns of religious pluralism. This is a very useful book for anyone interested in the contemporary religious situation.

Donald F. Crosby, S.J., has written the definitive study of McCarthyism and the American Catholic community—*God, Church and Flag: Senator Joseph R. McCarthy and the Catholic Church 1950-1957* (University of North Carolina Press, $16.95). It is an engaging, well-written study that helps you relive some of the more exotic moments of the 1950s. Crosby convincingly demonstrates that Catholics were as divided about McCarthy as the rest of the nation. The book not only puts to rest the myth that Catholics supported McCarthy *en masse*, but it also offers valuable insights about the interaction between religion and politics in the Catholic community.

Another book pertinent to the study of American Catholicism is the first volume in the series, Notre Dame Studies in American Catholicism, a project jointly sponsored by the University of Notre Dame Press and the Center for the Study of American Catholicism. *The Brownson-Hecker Correspondence*, edited by Joseph F. Gower and Richard M. Leliaert (University of Notre Dame Press, $20.), is a collection of the letters exchanged between Orestes Brownson and Isaac Hecker during the years 1841-72. Prefaced by a lengthy and useful introduction and with each letter edited and indexed with care, this book makes available to the public the correspondence of two of the intellectual giants of 19th century Catholicism. It documents their friendship prior to their conversion, their shared optimism about the future of Catholicism in the United States, and the divergent paths they took in the course of their spiritual odysseys. This collection of letters unveils one of the most interesting friendships in American religious history. At $20 the book is a steal.

Albert J. Raboteau has made his mark with *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (Oxford University Press, $14.95). In recent years scholars have written monumental, often revisionist, works about the institution of slavery, but Raboteau is the first to examine in detail the religious life of the slaves. It is a well-written, richly documented history of the faith of a people "whose lives were marked by their trust in the Lord." Such a book was long overdue and Raboteau's work will undoubtedly become the standard text on slave religion.

A much discussed book this past year was *No Offense: Civil Religion and Protestant Taste*, by John Murray Cuddihy (Seabury Press, $12.95). It is a witty and provocative study of "what happens to European religious and political beliefs when they land on American shores." It is rewarding reading and an intelligent study of the place of religion in American culture.

Joseph Cunneen

FIRST, three highlights that *Commonweal* readers will have already heard of, but surely another reminder won't hurt.

1. *The Classics of Western Spirituality*, the Paulist Press series of modern editions of major texts from Christian, Jewish, and Islamic sources, was the event of the year. Eight volumes have been published so far ($9.95 each; $6.95 paperback), with Julian of Norwich's *Showings* threatening to become a near best-seller, but anyone with an interest in comparative mysticism will also want to acquire other books in the series—by Jaokob Boehme, Abraham Isaac Kook, Gregory of Nyssa, Nahman of Bratslav, and Ibn 'Ata' Illah & Kwaja Abdullah Ansari (the latter two in a single volume). I haven't read them all yet, either, but this assignment provided the happy excuse for going through the Bonaventure volume, containing "The Soul's Journey into God," "The Tree of Life," and "The Life of St. Francis." The 48-page introduction by Ewert Cousins is a fine example of summarizing pertinent information, guiding non-specialists to central issues, and providing complicated scholarly judgments with clarity and humility. The translation shows equal mastery, and most readers will probably applaud Cousins's decision to break the text occasionally into sense lines to make it more available for meditative reading.

2. Anyone following biblical studies will have already gobbled up Raymond E. Brown's *The Birth of the Messiah* (Doubleday, $14.95), but the fact that this first major modern treatment of the infancy narratives in Matthew and Luke is about to be a $6.95 Image paperback should be enough reason to mention it again. As everyone knows, Brown's scholarship meets the most exacting standards; happily, he also keeps in mind the needs of the educated general reader—and particularly the believer accustomed to traditional preaching.

3. Finally, for those who have never put together what they have learned from Karl Rahner, or were put off from learning by the mass of his work, there is *Foundations of Christian Faith* (Seabury Press, $19.50), probably the most systematic and comprehensive presentation of Christianity to be found in any one 20th-century volume.

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but an achievement of equal magnitude and perhaps more of a beacon for the future is Raimundo Panikkar's *The Vedic Experience* (California, $30), "an anthology of the Vedas for modern man and contemporary celebration." Panikkar has provided us with an arrangement of Vedic Scriptures that can nourish us for years; try just a few pages a day, aided by his dense but masterly commentary.

Another religious tradition that has been well represented by recent publishing is that of Eastern Orthodoxy, as served by St. Vladimir's Seminary Press (Crestwood, N.Y. 10707). Write for their complete catalogue, while ordering either John Meyendorff's *Living Tradition* ($5.95) or Vladimir Lossky's *Orthodox Theology* ($4.95), both in paperback.

The most consistently challenging contributions to religious publishing, however, continue to come from Orbis Press. Anyone tempted to write off liberation theology as a fad for another uncritical cheering section should be asked to read at least *Christology at the Crossroads*, by Jon Sobrino, and *Jesus Christ Liberator*, by Leonardo Boff. Here are examples of minds at home with the best of contemporary European theology while working out a distinctive expression of their commitment to Christ under the most trying of conditions.

Why Religion?

Aside from revelation and divine providence and supernatural grace—about which social scientists can make no empirical observations—why do people continue to believe in religion and practice it? At the risk of oversimplification, we can probably subsume the various explanations under the general theme of Victor Frankl's *Search for Meaning*. In the long run nothing else makes much sense. When the ultimate questions are asked, even science and philosophy do not have satisfactory answers. As Peter Berger says, "religion is the audacious attempt to conceive of the entire universe as being humanly significant." What looks like absurdity and futility to the non-believer becomes reasonable and purposeful to the believer.

Everyone struggles in some way with the humanly inexplicable frustrations of life. At the level of personal experience, and seen from the individual point of view, says Milton Yinger, the quality of being religious implies two things: "first, a belief that evil, pain, bewilderment and injustice are fundamental facts of existence; and second, a set of practices and sanctified beliefs that express a conviction that man can ultimately be saved from these facts. . . ."

——Joseph H. Fichter, "The Trend to Spiritual Narcissism," *Commonweal*, March 17, 1978.

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William P. Loewe

IN *Foundations of Christian Faith* (Seabury, $19.95) Karl Rahner steps back to trace a path through the vast terrain he has covered in the past half century. Inviting his reader to join in an effort to uncover the grounds on which his commitment as a Christian believer within the Roman Catholic community rests, he cautions at the outset that this journey of self-discovery will be no light going. Rahner's powerful, sophisticated philosophical method and his Teutonic prose make this fair warning. Yet the payoff lies in a rich orchestration of Rahner's central theological themes: knowledge of oneself as oriented to the boundless mystery to which the word God points, and as gifted with love and forgiveness; recognition of Jesus as the Christ in whom the holy mystery has become visibly and explicitly present among us; awareness of freedom and love as signs of the surprising activity of Spirit in history. Rahner's vision is finally simple, though its expression is not. For those who find it worthwhile to pursue, Anne Carr's *Theological Method of Karl Rahner* (Scholars Press, $4.50) offers a solid and comprehensive analysis of the development of his thought and method.

Perhaps the most delightful book of the year is John Shea's *Stories of God* (Thomas More, $8.95). Like Rahner Shea helps us move back to recover the experience of mystery as the matrix of religion. In itself the experience is mute, yet it contains the secret of human existence. To unfold that secret Shea turns to the Bible and reads it precisely as myth, that is, as an expression of the meanings and values involved in an authentic relationship to mystery. The term myth, of course, still tends to be pejorative in

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common usage. Shea's lucid exposition of the positive sense in which contemporary theologians use the term can be a help in moving from a view of the Bible as chiefly a historical record to the current scholarly discovery of its character as faith-witness.

Meanings and values may sound abstract; they are in fact the stuff which makes our living human, and the Bible conveys them in very human fashion by telling stories. The stories of Jesus, for example, are far more than historical records of the past. Disclosing the basic contours of the relationship between God and humankind, they are intended to become our stories as well. When the Biblical stories grasp our imagination with sufficient force to draw us into the world they disclose, when they lay bare our deepest truth and transform our lives in fidelity to that truth, they function as Word of God. Shea combines poetic gifts with a masterful grasp of theological principle to release that functioning. In the process he forges a fine example of the "revisionist" theology for which David Tracy called in *Blessed Rage For Order* (Seabury, $8.95).

The transformative power of symbol animates Sebastian Moore's *The Crucified Jesus Is No Stranger* (Seabury, $6.95). In meditating on the cross Moore comes to realize his—and our—identity with Jesus's persecutors. This insight is no pious banality. Moore is suggesting that encounter with the cross can call forth from us those forces of egoism which, if we were honest about it, would drive us to raw hatred of Jesus. He explains the dynamic of that hatred: the perfection of Jesus humiliates us. Jesus embodies the *imago Dei* which we are also called and fail to be. Thus we identify as well with the Crucified who represents our true, God-willed self. And a miracle may occur. Calling forth and enduring the fury of our meanness and self-hate, Jesus answers with a healing forgiveness which can liberate new life. In Biblical terms, we are washed in the blood of the Lamb. Moore offers a gripping enactment of the process which Lonergan has worked out as the Law of the Cross. Its theoretic counterpart can be found in Robert Doran's *Subject and Psyche: Ricoeur, Jung, and the Foundations of Theology* (University Press of America, $7.95).

Personal transformation is not the whole of redemption. Leonardo Boff's *Jesus Christ Liberator* (Orbis, $9.95) highlights the interest of Latin American theologians in the preaching and activity of the historical Jesus. The central theme of Jesus' ministry was the Kingdom of God, and liberation theologians emphasize the structural transformations which the anticipation counts; sociopolitical liberation is but one element in his Christian vision of salvation, and he insists that religious enthusiasm alone will not suffice to achieve it.

Johann Baptist Metz summarizes the development of his political theology over the past ten years in *Faith in History and Society* (Seabury, $12.95). Metz argues that modern apologetics must vindicate Christian faith in face of the competing claims of dialectical materialism in the socialist countries and evolutionary thought in the West. He charges that recent theology fails in this by focusing on the individual and thus fostering a privatized service religion. Metz explores the themes of memory, suffering, and narrative, working to combine the political and the aesthetic in an adequate Christian understanding of the human person.

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